New Republic

APRIL 11, 1949

THE WORLD OF WINSTON CHURCHILL

AN EDITORIAL

THE LIFE INSURANCE COLOSSUS

By BENTON J. STONG

RUSSIA AND CHINA:

TWO REPORTS

By RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

5¢

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WASHINGTON WIRE

ON MONDAY they started spraying the cherry blossoms with hormones to prolong their blooming. On Thursday we watched Winston Churchill over television giving the Russians whatfor. On Friday stocky Ernie Bevin addressed the Press Club here and dropped aspirates all over the auditorium floor in a way that would have knocked Queen Victoria out of her seat. On Saturday the Senate mowed down opponents of Marshall Plan aid. And on Monday the fateful Atlantic military alliance was signed in the State Department auditorium on Constitution Avenue. Busy days, these, in Washington.

We know nothing more voluptuously lovely than Washington springtime. Forsythia, daffodills, quince, flowering almond—they are all in bloom. This, we have always felt, is one thing mechanization cannot spoil; robins singing, the DAR gamboling under the Washington Monument: it is nature's promissory note of better things ahead and maybe a happy ending some day. Into this Eden, however, have now intruded 9,000 gallons of growth-regulating plant hormones, squirted by the industrious National Capital Parks crews. Makes the cherry blossoms, which are sterile anyway—all bloom and no cherry—last longer. Well, we confess it upsets us. Can't look at the shy little blossoms any more without blushing.

Churchill came down to Washington perfectly on television. Snap, snap, snap went our host on the dials of his set, and there was Winnie talking on all four channels. Nobody can doubt any longer the social revolution television is creating; the difference between merely hearing a radio voice and seeing a man himself is incomparable when the man is Churchill. On close-ups you could even see the last faint hairs on Churchill's bald head; the glasses perched halfway down the bridge of his nose so that he could alternately read his manuscript and peer over the top at the audience with his shrewd little eyes as he made his masterly effects.

We have no love for Bevin's Palestine policy but the man himself, chunky, formidable and grinning behind his dark-rimmed glasses, is something to see. These eleven foreign ministers of postwar Europe are all indeed different types, vividly juxtaposed while Washington is briefly the Western world's capital. Carlo Sforza, whom we used to see at the Williamstown Institute of Politics a quarter-century ago, is gray now, the old-fashioned, suave, European diplomat type. Bevin is the contrast. He started earning his living at eleven, and dominated his Transport Union before mastering politics.

Foreign affairs and domestic economic conditions got mixed up in the Senate debate over the second year's Marshall plan appropriations. Watchers held their breath as Taft almost succeeded in making a new North-South conservative coalition with the assistance of Russell (D, Ga.), the Senator who led the filibuster on civil-rights legislation. The Taft-Russell forces were beaten, temporarily at least, last Friday. The Taft proposal to slash Marshall Plan aid 10 percent lost, 54 to 23.

But the union of isolationist GOP reactionaries like Capehart, Jenner, Kem and Wherry with Dixiecrats like Byrd, George, McClellan and Russell was an omen. This was an international issue, not a domestic one. Again the question is raised: Is a new party alignment developing? Even the most naïve voter can see by this time how little the Truman victory last November really meant. Congress has voted authorization for the full Marshall

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Next Week in the New Republic

In the Spring Book Number, in addition to articles and reviews by Malcolm Cowley, David Daiches, Lincoln Kirstein, Max Lerner, Alexander Meiklejohn, James R. Newman and many other experts, look for a feature article on . . .

THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

by Joseph P. Lash

The heavily picketed Conference met in New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel during the last weekend of March. It was characterized by the State Department as a forum for Soviet propaganda against this country and by its sponsors as a parley to further international cooperation and world peace.

Leading figures at the Conference included Professor Harlow Shapley of Harvard, Dmitri Shostakovich and Alexander A. Fadayev of the USSR, Professor William Olaf Stapledon of England, Jovan Popovitch of Yugoslavia, Myrta Aguirre of Cuba, F. Manrique Cabrera of Puerto Rico, Dr. E. E. G. Armattoe of French West Africa.

What went on at the Conference? Was the State Department's prophecy right or wrong? Were there any dramatic departures from the prepared program? Was the Conference a dismal failure or a success as propaganda?

These and many other pertinent questions of interest to all who seek peace are answered by Mr. Lash, whose writing on Russian culture and science needs no introduction to our audience.

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Plan funds, but this is only the first round; individual appropriations must now come up and the conservative "economizers" will be on hand to pick off with squirrel rifles what they could not blast out with shotguns.

Notes. John L. Lewis' two-week coal "holiday" cut stocks above the ground from 67.5 million tons to 52 million tons, or from 45 days' reserves to 34 days'; many think this strategy is designed to make a long coal strike more effective later on. . . . In rejoicing over falling prices don't forget they are still 71 percent higher than August, 1939, and 27 percent higher than June, 1946, when OPA price controls were unnecessarily destroyed. . . . The economic prospect, as seen here, is fairly satisfactory to everything but Truman's control plans; the panic-free price decline is apt to junk federal controls, however important they may be for some future emergency.

Repeal of the outrageous 50-year-old federal oleo tax has passed the House and has gone up to the Senate. The Senate rotten-borough system gives farm areas disproportionate representation; it just about balances off dairy and cotton states. The chief danger to repeal is a dairy-state filibuster. . . . Congress is coming closer and closer to a choice between Truman's higher taxes and deficit financing; members are squirming uncomfortably. . . . The Hoover reports for streamlining government are all in and contain many admirable proposals; long experience shows the only way to get them enacted is for Congress to delegate power to the President. . . . Presidential "streamlining power" has passed the House, but with big loopholes; now it will go to the Senate.

The temporary White House is just across Pennsylvania Avenue from the real one, abandoned for repairs. Truman used to walk the little distance to the executive wing gratefully, but now rides: crowds too big. . . . Ultimate Senate ratification of the Atlantic Pact seems certain, but every Senator wants to speak.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 15, ISSUE 1793, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 11, 1949 **New Republic**

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WORLD

"AN ACCEPTED LEADER," wrote Winston Churchill in *Their Finest Hour*, "has only to be sure of what is best to do."

"If he is no good," Churchill added, "he must be poleaxed." And, taking him at his word, the British people poleaxed Churchill in 1945. But since, in a time of flux, Churchill above all free men is sure of what is best, he remains the accepted leader of the Western World.

Churchill can rise to an occasion by remaining silent. At Boston, an immense stage was set for him to point the way ahead in a grand gesture. Churchill merely thumbed his nose at the Great Khan.

His silence did not reflect his indecision. He proceeds one step at a time. Since as he spoke the next, all-important step—the North Atlantic Pact—was before the Senate, Churchill, preëminently the politician, chose not to peer into the future. In addition, Churchill, astride the Atlantic, sees no reason why his American hand should know what his European hand is doing. Too widespread a discussion of over-all strategy would deny to him and to Britain the powerful role of intermediary. So he makes one speech in America and another on the European continent. Pieced together, they begin to form a pattern.

Churchill, as he confessed at The Hague in May, 1948, never accepted the concept of the United Nations. He feared the consequences of "a system where there was nothing between the supreme headquarters and the commanders of the different divisions and battalions." He wanted a world organization made up of representatives of regional associates.

The associations, Churchill felt, should consist of "three splendid groupings": the USSR, the Western Hemisphere, and Europe and the British Commonwealth. In this manner, Asia would be left to the subjugation of empire; Russia would be excluded from most of the world; America would be excluded from Europe, and Europe would be merged with the Commonwealth, to maintain the primacy of British power.

Between these associations and the tacit partnership of Britain and America Churchill conceived some undefined relationship. His initial reaction to the East-West conflict which he alone in the West had foreseen and prepared for, was to urge at Fulton in March, 1946, the open recognition of the British-American alliance. His immediate proposal was economic coöperation and "the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers." "Eventually," he added, "there may come the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny."

The logic of the Fulton speech was confirmed by Soviet actions. Its program was implemented by the British and American governments. Yet the speech itself was howled down in both countries. So the relationship between the concept of Europa and the concept of Atlantis was established. Churchill concluded that while the intimate relationship of the British and American governments would prosper, the fraternal association of the two peoples would take years to ripen. The peoples of Britain and Europe, therefore, should be joined in federation before the peoples of America and the British Commonwealth would unite in a larger union.

Churchill, who paid little attention in wartime to union among the governments in exile, became the president of the Council for European Unity. Just as he ignored Europe at Fulton, so before the Council he spoke only of the support of America and mentioned also "that third great and equal partner," the USSR.

At Fulton, Churchill called for "a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations." As long as this seemed possible, the reorganization of the UN and the creation of permanent organizations of the West were not part of his concept of leadership. In fact Churchill made it clear that he saw the Council for European Unity chiefly as a propaganda device by welcoming to its sessions delegates-in-exile from Eastern European states.

Late in 1948, however, Churchill blasted "false hopes of friendly settlement" with Russia. He ruled out all hope for settlement by fixing as its terms the liberation of all satellites, and the retirement of the Russians behind their own borders.

By then, East and West had met in Paris to join the ERP, and had gone their own ways. The UN had become to Churchill "a brawling cockpit." Minority rights

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in Eastern Europe were crushed. The governments of America and Western Europe had swung to full support of European federation. Organization became an immediate problem. Bevin proposed a federation on functional lines. The French favored a legislative approach. Churchill insisted on a legal entity. At The Hague in February, 1949, he proposed that a European Supreme Court be added to the contemplated Council and Parliament. And at Brussels he called for the reorganization of the UN.

No wonder clarification is necessary today! Quite apart from the UN, and its specialized agencies, and the myriads of common councils that link the Western nations, four major groups of the West are rising.

Sixteen nations and the Bizone are joined in the OEEC. Five of these nations are joined to advance economic, political, cultural and military union in the Brussels Pact. Three of them are joined in Benelux, a full economic union which when it takes effect in June, 1950, will become a separate trading entity: the third largest in the world.

Ten OEEC nations, together with Canada and the US, have joined our military and other purposes in the North Atlantic Pact.

Between these associations, what are the relationships to be? Should America participate in OEEC planning, for example, given that ECA will soon end? If the OEEC is permanent, what is its relationship to the European Council and Parliament? How and when is the Brussels union to be extended to the OEEC nations? Will the administration of the military lend-lease program, and the planning of joint defense, be placed under the European federation or the continuing councils of the North Atlantic Pact? Is the European federation or the Atlantic union to be the regional association of the West, and what other regional associations are to be formed? What is the relationship to be between the West and the remainder of the free world?

Decisions on these issues cannot be long delayed. They affect the economies and the political direction of all participating countries. Britain, for example, has recovered economically by highly nationalistic controls. What is to become of them? At the same time Britain has transferred her political sovereignty over the determination of peace and war, first to the Imperial Conference of the British Commonwealth, then to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, now to the Brussels union, and once more to the North Atlantic alliance. Soon Britain may relinquish these powers all over again in a complete merger of sovereignty in a European federation. What, then, happens to her other commitments, particularly when they all conflict? If bigamy is a crime among nations, the British are convicted many times over. And, if we take our commitments seriously, so are we.

Governments may be able to shuffle many decks of cards. Peoples cannot be easily manipulated. Allegiance requires loyalty, but to what are the British people to be loyal? Are they subjects of a British King, or Europeans, or members of a Commonwealth, or followers of an embryonic Atlantic union, or citizens of the UN whose supreme allegiance is to the Charter?

Each Western nation shares the British dilemma. There is a need for vision, and here Churchill fails.

One major problem is the integration of the European economies. They require drastic reorganization. But Churchill concedes his ignorance of economics and his resistance to change. Always a Tory, he cannot accept the one peaceful solution to the cold war, the displacement of Communism by economic reform.

A second major problem is Germany. Conflict concerning the role of Germany has been the greatest single barrier to the unity between the French, the British and the Americans. Rightly the Americans insist on German recovery; rightly the French fear Germany; rightly the British trust only the German Socialists. Churchill understands that European federation is the only way to control a divided Germany. But he extends his hand to the German nationalists, as he does to Franco, and so destroys the political basis of federation.

A third major problem is the relationship of Europe and Asia. Only within the larger unity of the entire free world can true European unity be achieved. But Churchill sees in Asia only a vast area for colonial exploitation. He congratulates the Dutch for their war on Indonesia. He dimly equates Communism and Asia as a new yellow peril and denies utterly to Asia its equal role in world organization.

The West cannot be united as means of perpetuating privilege, or as a way of saving colonialism, or as an instrument of war. And since these are Churchill's ultimate purposes, we cannot afford Churchill as the accepted leader of the West.

As the Soviet government breaks its last ties with the West, we are led down Churchill's road. We continually look backwards to what was, and what might have been, and so we stumble, rather than march forward. We cannot accept as final the breakup of One World. So we leave the UN's future largely for the Russians to decide. We improvise, as we must, and as the clock ticks on we wait for a miracle to happen when the Great Khan dies.

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THE WEEK

Rent Control—A Partial Victory

ADMINISTRATION LEADERS have been able to retain a semblance of rent control despite the activities of a $3 million real-estate lobby and the official weight of the Republican Party. In the zero hour before all ceilings were due to be lifted, Congress passed a compromise measure that extends federal controls for another 15 months, guarantees landlords a "fair net operating income . . . so far as practicable," and allows states, cities and towns, with the approval of the state Governor, to lift rent controls whenever they like.

Although the bill is somewhat weaker than the original Administration proposal, President Truman pointed out, in signing it, that Congress had been working under a propaganda barrage designed to destroy rent control altogether. "In its final form," he said, "it represents a crushing defeat for the real-estate lobby."

Last-minute attempts were made in both Houses to kill rent control completely. The Senate rejected, 53 to 33, a motion by Senator John W. Bricker (R, Ohio), the landlords' spokesman in the Senate, to send the bill back to committee, where it would automatically have died on March 31. Two Southerners, John Sparkman (D, Ala.) and Burnet Maybank (D, S. C.), led the floor fight for the Administration bill which finally passed, 78 to 11, with only Republicans voting no. The big target for attack in the House was the conference-devised provision allowing landlords a fair net operating income. Representative Paul Brown (D, Ga.) was unable to substitute his original "reasonable return" amendment. (The landlord-dominated Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee of New York had expressed "deep and everlasting gratitude" for Brown's coöperation.)

A second controversial point was the "local-option" provision. Not until Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) called on John Bell Williams (D, Miss.) to tell his colleagues that it would be "splitting hairs" to find a difference on this point between the conference report and the House-passed measure did the fight end. The House finally approved the compromise by a vote of 263 to 143, with 196 Democrats, 66 Republicans and one ALP member voting for the bill. Opposed were 48 Democrats and 95 Republicans.

The new rent law contains several provisions that were vigorously opposed by the real-estate lobby. The housing administrator is authorized to sue landlords for three times the amount of any charge made against a tenant above the legal rent ceiling, described by the President as a "powerful weapon to curb the black market in over-ceiling rents." The Expediter is empowered to write eviction regulations designed to apply uniformly throughout the country, to recontrol trailer camps used as permanent homes, and permanent units of non-transient hotels in New York and Chicago. The new law eliminates the so-called "voluntary" 15-percent increases authorized by the 80th Congress and requires that landlords receiving rent adjustments certify that they are maintaining all the services which were furnished on the date determining the maximum rent.

Actually Administration leaders were satisfied with the outcome in view of the powerful, well-financed campaign which the real-estate lobby has conducted in Washington this month. The Washington committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards operated in high gear on the $125,000 war chest obtained through $5 contributions from each member during the month of March.

But even more pernicious than the obvious apartment owners' and real-estate lobbies was the US Savings and Loan League of Chicago, headed by the clever, behind-the-scenes operator, Morton Bodfish, and his aide, Abner H. Ferguson (who was Federal Housing Administrator from 1940 to 1946). Bodfish and Ferguson personally made the rounds, visiting Senators and Representatives. Ferguson, this year, is representing the Picks Hotels Corporation for a $3,000 retainer in addition to his Savings and Loan League salary, plus a $12,000 contingent fee which depended upon whether or not Congress decontrolled luxury apartments. (He won a partial victory on this point, since the bill gives the Housing Expediter discretion to decontrol "luxury" housing, formerly under rent control.)

The Savings and Loan League, which reported spending $26,710 on legislative activity alone in 1948, and the rest of the real-estate lobby are already preparing for their next big fight—to defeat the Administration's public housing program. With hearings completed in the Senate, the bill (providing for construction of 810,000 low-rent housing units over a six-year period and federal grants and loans for urban development, rural farm housing and research) is scheduled for Senate action immediately following ECA and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. NAREB has issued the first marching orders to its members: to distribute leaflets, use newspaper display ads, talk to their Congressmen and take them on tours of local private housing developments.

WHITE SUPREMACY SETBACK

In Alabama there are 521,000 Negroes of voting age. Last year only 8,000 qualified to vote in the presidential election. Thousands of Negroes were disenfranchised under the Boswell Amendment, a vague statute

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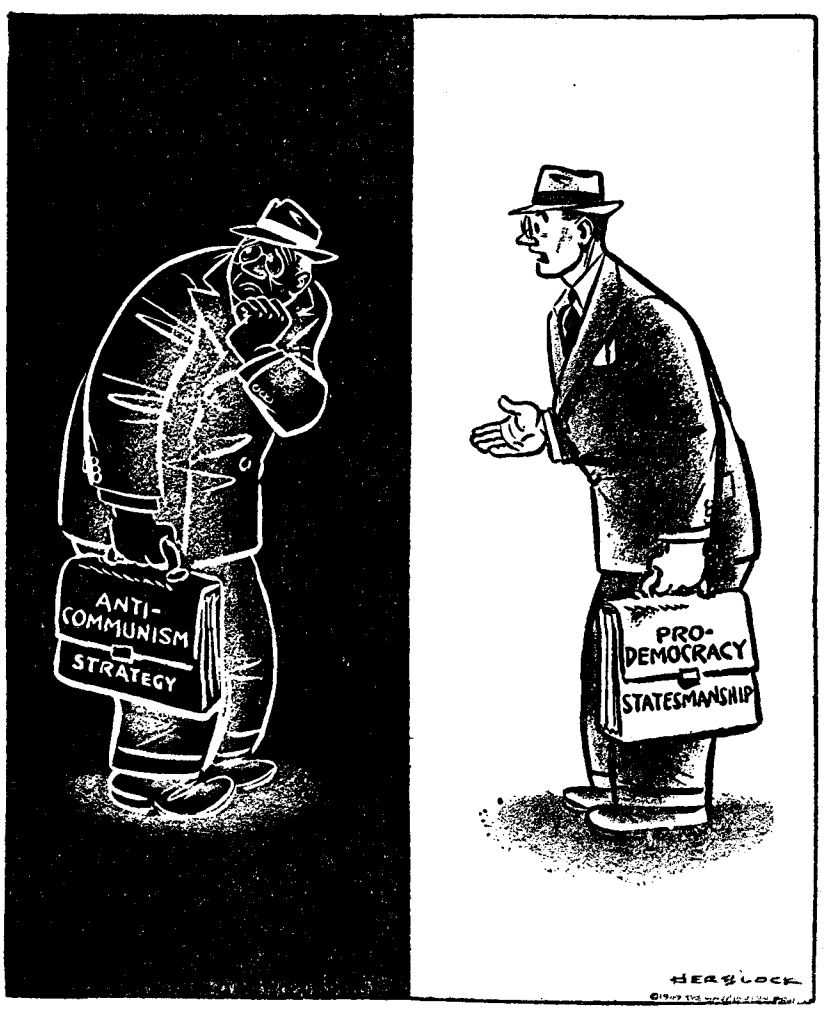
that required voters to "understand and explain" any article of the federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the local (all white) Boards of Registrars in each county. The Supreme Court last week reiterated its previous rulings that Alabama, or any other state, cannot set up voting requirements which in effect make the Democratic organization a "white man's party." The 8-to-1 decision (Justice Stanley F. Reed favored the appeal for a further hearing) upheld a lower-court decision that the Boswell Amendment was unconstitutional.

The defendants pointed out that in Mobile County (population: 230,000) the Board registered more than 2,800 white persons and only 104 Negroes, and added that the white voters were not required to meet the tests, which imposed "an exceedingly high, if not impossible standard" for voting. The State Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama in 1946, at the time the Boswell Amendment was being considered, urged its members "to fight for white supremacy in our state" and campaign for the adoption of the amendment to restrict Negro registration.

The Boswell Amendment was an attempt to circumvent earlier Supreme Court decisions on South Carolina and Texas "white primaries" when the Court declared unconstitutional the "country club" method of excluding Negroes from membership in the Democratic Party. White supremacists will undoubtedly attempt to devise new methods to disenfranchise Negroes.

Much more interesting is the effect the decision will have on Alabama's 1950 senatorial contest for the seat now held by Lister Hill. The Dixiecrat forces have announced their determination to eliminate Hill, accepted locally as a New Dealer, at whatever cost. Both factions may be tempted for the first time since Reconstruction days to make overtures to the new bloc of Negro voters which could conceivably total 50,000 in the next election.



"Why Be So Negative?"

PHIL MURRAY'S PROBLEM

CEDAR RAPIDS (NR correspondent)

A challenging problem faces CIO President Philip Murray and the CIO executive board as a result of the defiant refusal of the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers to dissolve and merge with the rival United Auto Workers.

At issue is what powers the CIO board can invoke to enforce its decisions on those international unions which fail to see eye to eye with it on matters of policy as well as autonomy.

The liquidation order to the left-wing Farm Equipment Union was issued November 27, at the close of the CIO convention in Portland, Oregon, on a request from anti-Communist Walter P. Reuther, UAW president. It demanded compliance by January 26, but top FE officers ignored the order, pending the FE convention's official decision.

Now, delegates to the fourth constitutional convention of the FE have given Murray and his board a unanimous "No" on the directive, declaring it constitutes a "shotgun merger."

The FE opened its three-day convention in an embattled mood in the armory of the Memorial Coliseum in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on March 25. In attendance were 400-odd delegates and alternates, representing a claimed national membership of 55,000 in nearly 100 locals.

In a telegram to the FE convention, Murray renewed his plea that the union relinquish its charter, which the CIO granted it November 16, 1938, "upon the basis of voluntary agreement." He added that if the convention acted unfavorably on the merger proposal, the national board at its next meeting would be "required to take proper action—which of course

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will be in conformity with provisions of our CIO constitution."

And there's the rub: for the CIO constitution, as originally drafted, calls for a two-thirds vote by delegates to a CIO convention before the charter of an affiliated international union can be lifted. Thus, the CIO board may find it difficult to implement its ultimatum.

Grant W. Oakes, 43-year-old FE president, who was the Progressive Party's candidate for Governor of Illinois last year, set the convention pace in his keynote address.

Oakes labeled the board's order "a foul decree" and "a piece of skulduggery without precedent in the American labor movement."

"Our union is being attacked because of the character of the times," he said. "The attack only seems to come from another union. But, in truth, it is part of the national hysteria, part of the Roman holiday of Red-baiting. . . ."

He said the FE would "remain in the CIO and continue to fight for the policies on which CIO was founded." He called for the establishment of "one big union" of farm-equipment workers. He vilified Reuther and the UAW for "cannibalistic raids" on FE jurisdiction. (Since January, UAW organizers have been vigorously campaigning to persuade workers in FE plants to join the UAW. In some plants, the UAW has petitioned for representation elections by the National Labor Relations Board.)

By a rising vote, the convention gave unanimous assent to these views in approving the first resolution to come before it, on the merger order.

In other resolutions the FE assailed the government's domestic and foreign policies, including the North Atlantic Pact, declaring that they would lead to war and depression.

To repel UAW raids, the FE voted a fund of more than $100,000 a year by assessing members $2 each in 1949 and 1950. In reopening its present contracts, the union also served notice that it will seek a fourth-round wage increase of 30 cents an hour and improved pension benefits.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Many Western Europeans find it hard to understand the way Americans do things. This is true even of the Europeans who are most ardent in their friendship for the United States. Take, for example, the case of the speech John Foster Dulles made at Cleveland before the Conference on World Order, sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches in America. Dulles is a very important person in the United States, one of the really authentic experts on world affairs. His Cleveland speech couldn't have been more important.

The theme was the relationship between the North Atlantic Pact and a possible third world war. This war, Dulles said, wasn't inevitable, but thinking that it was could make it so. Final responsibility for peace or the third war rested squarely on the shoulders of American statesmanship. What was important was to get away from the fatalistic belief that the war was inevitable, that forces beyond our control were dragging us toward it. What was almost equally important was to have an American leadership "of peace, by peace, for peace," a leadership based on the "traditional American principle" of subordinating military to civil power.

Dulles, whose views about the Soviet Union have put him on Moscow's list of "warmongers," said:

> So far as it is humanly possible to judge, the Soviet government under conditions now prevailing, does not contemplate the use of war as an instrument of its national policy. I do not know of any responsible high official, military or civilian, in this government or any other government, who believes that the Soviet state now plans conquest by open military aggression. . . . It can be assumed that the Soviet state would use the Red Army if its leaders felt that their homeland was imminently and seriously menaced. That is why in our statement on Soviet-American relations made two and one half years ago, we said that the United States should not seek military bases so close to the Soviet Union as to carry an offensive threat that is disproportionate to defensive value. That is why our fellowship with the peoples of Western Europe and particularly of Scandinavia ought not to seem to bring United States military might directly to Russia's border.

Western Europeans recognized this statement for what it was: the first objection to current policy made publicly by an American of major political rank (and an ardent internationalist rather than an isolationist). And it seemed to them that few such statements could have been more important at a time when the United States is calling upon Norway to enter the North Atlantic Pact.

Yet the Dulles speech was carried on inside pages of the leading American newspapers. The New York *Times* had room on its first page for "Gravediggers Break with the CIO" and "Senators Seek Army Ships for $250 Student Trips to Europe," but the Dulles speech rated only page five. And the New York *Herald Tribune*, official organ of the Republican Party, thought a major statement of current policy by a man who might have been a Republican Secretary of State was worth no better than page ten (and in a version that omitted salient points).

★

Outside Italian factories 1,000 perfectly good new tractors stand waiting for export buyers. They could be used at once in France and other Western European countries which need far more than the 25,000 tractors whose importation is being financed this year by the US under ECA. The need for them is even greater in Eastern European countries. This economic anomaly is explained in a Geneva dispatch to the New York *Times*:

Under a policy of preventing exports

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of "strategic items" to Eastern Europe, the United States Government has discouraged Italy from developing a market for tractors in Eastern Europe where the demand is enormous. The East would be Italy's normal outlet under the bilateral trade system prevailing in Europe because Italy could use coal and timber that the Eastern countries have to exchange.

So far as sale to Western Europe is concerned, the dispatch says that "it is not enough in Europe today to be willing to buy tractors that producers are willing to sell." All sorts of committees have to wind and unwind red tape. Moreover, "United States tractor exporters with the support of ECA missions are successfully persuading the French and other Western governments not to shift purchases from United States products to Italian."

On the psychological front of the West-East cold war, these 1,000 tractors are worth their weight in tanks to the Soviets. For the incident (which isn't an isolated case) plays right into the hands of the Communist propaganda argument that American businessmen are concerned more with making money than with putting Europe on its economic feet.

★

On China's situation, the London *Times* commented:

In a period of such national travail as China is passing through, it would be unwise to build too much upon the claims of mere common sense, even where people in many ways so sensible as the Chinese are concerned. Immense forces, of which we cannot yet pretend to estimate the energy, have been set in motion for better or for worse; and, when once elemental forces have been set in motion, they cannot easily be arrested. . . . It is impossible to look forward to the future of China without grave apprehension. Even if some truce can be patched up now, the old order of things, we may take it, has departed never to return. But it would be idle to expect that a new and stable order of things can be immediately evolved by any magic wand out of the existing chaos. However rotten the old fabric may have been, it cannot be destroyed and a new fabric built up in a day.

The date of the editorial is November 30, 1911. PERCY WINNER

INSURANCE IS SUPRA-BUSINESS

The insurance companies' power is growing so fast it threatens the financial authority of the national government itself by Benton J. Stong

THE OLD horseshoe-nail formula is at work in the life-insurance industry.

If you pay one cent for the first nail driven to shoe a horse, two cents for the second, four cents for the third and double the previous amount for each succeeding nail, it would cost a fortune to get the horse shod.

The total admitted assets of life-insurance companies have been doubling every 10 years for the past 40 years. Back in 1906 they had $3 BILLION in assets. This is how they have grown:

	In millions of dollars
1906	$ 3,000
1916	5,500
1926	12,940
1936	24,874
1946	48,191

The 1948 Life Insurance Fact Book, published by the Institute of Life Insurance, shows that the same rate of growth of total assets was maintained through 1947, the last year for which records are available. Assets of legal reserve companies at the end of the year were $51,735 million, for a gain of $3,544 million over the previous year. This rate of gain points toward $96 BILLION in 1956, come good times or bad, and $100 BILLION and more in 1957, with no end in sight.

The totals are becoming so enormous, and the investment of such a huge sum—even just the annual accumulations—has become so significant in our national economy that Senator Pat McCarran and Representative Emanuel Celler have decided that the business needs to be investigated by Congress. They are the chairmen of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees and their joint resolution for such an investigation seems very likely to be adopted. There are many people besides McCarran and Celler who believe that the whole insurance business needs both a thorough investigation and some sort of new controls.

The New York Legislature already has been prying into the subject enough to discover that huge financings are being handled by private negotiation, outside the jurisdiction of the Securities and Exchange Commission because they are not offered at public sale.

A few of these large private loans were revealed at a recent meeting of the committee attended by presidents of four of the largest life-insurance companies.

Equitable, which had $4,504 million admitted assets at the end of 1947, has loaned:

	In millions of dollars
Gulf Oil	$100
Reynolds Tobacco	90
American Tobacco	75

Metropolitan, which had $8,548 million at the end of 1947, had loaned:

	In millions of dollars
Shell Caribbean Oil	$100
Gulf Oil	84
Union Carbide & Carbon	77

Prudential, with $7,321 million of assets at the end of 1947, had top loans:

	In millions of dollars
International Business Machine	$ 85
Union Carbide & Carbon	68
American Telephone & Telegraph	50

New York Life's biggest loan was $50 million of the Shell Caribbean issue.

The New York committee has shown an interest in proper regulation of the negotiated loans. Committee-

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men have inquired about reducing the limit on loans from 10 percent of total assets to a lower figure, requiring an evaluation of the loans by the state insurance commissioner before they are made, and about the danger that the insurance companies will ultimately dominate industry.

The insurance presidents were serious but reassuring.

President Thomas I. Parkinson of Equitable felt that the size of a loan should depend on the strength of the borrower only. He said under proper circumstances his company would be willing to loan "a couple of hundred million" to Standard Oil of New Jersey. He did not believe that in another depression the life-insurance companies might get great control over the over-all economy of the country. "We had no control over the reorganization of the railroads," he reminded. "They went into bankruptcy court."

In the proposed federal investigation, Representative Celler wants to go beyond the problem of regulation of the huge life-insurance investments, which is important, and see also what the investment policies of the big companies, controlling billions, are doing to the national economy and to the nature of our "free enterprise" system itself.

The US Attorney General charged in a complaint he filed against 17 large investment banking houses* in October, 1947, that 27 large life companies have an agreement to favor securities offered by the 17 investment bankers. He charged that the bankers themselves have an agreement not to handle securities for any firms except those over which they (the bankers) achieve and maintain financial and business controls.

The allegation about the insurance agreement was little publicized, although the agreement filled out a picture of an enormous, patterned system of concentrating economic control, with the life companies as the gatherers and suppliers of capital. The Attorney General's complaint said:

> On or about December 5, 1941, at New York City, representatives of most of the defendant banking firms met with representatives of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the Prudential Insurance Company of America, the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, New York Life Insurance Company, the Mutual Insurance Company of New York, and Home Life Insurance Company and entered into an agreement. . . . At New York City on May 5, 1942, at a subsequent meeting attended by representatives of most of the defendant banking firms and a large number of life insurance companies . . . the insurance agreement was approved and adopted by such representatives.

The complaint then charged that the insurance companies, as their part, did or agreed to do the following:

a. Prepared and furnished to defendant banking firms a preferential list of 27 life-insurance companies owning 87.8 percent of the total admitted assets of all life-insurance companies in the United States, to which direct or group allotments [of securities] under the insurance agreement are made by the defendant banking firms.

b. Refrain from bidding for the purchase of security issues offered for sale at competitive bidding.

c. Discourage issuers from offering security issues for sale at competitive bidding, and support and coöperate with defendant banking firms in opposing all extensions of the use of competitive bidding.

d. Refrain from soliciting issuers to sell their security issues through private placement, and reduce substantially the volume of their security issues purchased through private placement.

e. Refrain from making agency purchases of security issues.

f. Reduce substantially their purchases of securities from investment bankers not parties to the insurance agreement.

The Attorney General charged that there was also a policing clause setting up a committee to receive complaints and investigate violations of the agreement.

The Attorney General's complaint is not going to trial. As with many anti-trust actions, it has run afoul the usual lack of adequate funds to prosecute complicated, contested suits. After a defeat on one issue, the Attorney General dropped the whole suit. But the existence of the insurance agreement has not been denied. The evidence thus far in the New York investigation indicates that either the agreement described in the 1947 complaint, or some similar arrangement, is at work. Negotiated loans by life-insurance companies have jumped to $10 billion according to Israel M. Krowitz, New York state insurance-department actuary. He reported that eight companies had reported six and two-thirds billion of such loans.

RAY GORDON

The sound investment of the huge sums which life-insurance companies accumulate as reserves in accordance with state laws is an increasingly tough problem for the insurance-company executives. The companies lean heavily on governments for liquidity and ability to pay all claims quickly if a catastrophe (which never occurs) should occur. But governments do not yield the sort of interest that is attractive to the companies. Most of the life companies have issued insurance policies in past years guaranteeing three and a half and four percent interest to the policyholders on the endowment or other reserves in the company. They consequently do not like to be overloaded with one, one and a half and two-percent government issues.

Most companies have reduced the guaranteed interest rate to policyhold-

*Morgan Stanley, First Boston Corp., Dillon, Read, Kuhn, Loeb, Blyth, Smith, Barney, Lehman Brothers, Harriman Ripley, Glore, Forgan, Kidder Peabody, Stone & Webster, Goldman, Sachs, Harris, Hall, White, Weld, Eastman, Dillon, Drexel, Union Securities Corp.

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ers two or three times, down to two and two and a half percent, as a partial answer to their investment problem. But maintaining a high interest yield is still troublesome, and they are on the lookout for deals within the law which will yield them good interest.

One of the fields they have entered, in addition to the negotiated loans, is the direct purchase and lease of income properties. Virginia first authorized direct real-estate purchases by the life companies in 1942. Since then, 31 states have followed suit. Eight states do not forbid it, leaving only eight states which do.

Under this new investment authority, the life companies are buying factories, stores, office buildings and other real estate and leasing the properties simultaneously to the interested business concerns for from 15 to 40 years at rentals which will yield the investing companies considerably more than government bonds. The new system increases the amount of money which can be put into real estate. Previously the companies could loan 60 or 65 percent of the value of the properties on first mortgage. Now they can buy them and invest the full 100 percent of value.

There has been a rush into this new field and, like the negotiated loan dossiers, the lists of real-estate deals yield Very Important Names in the business world.

A few examples of such investments, as reported by the *Wall Street Journal,* include these transactions:

New York Life is building a 13-story office building costing $9 million for the General Petroleum Corporation, a subsidiary of Socony Vacuum.

Continental Can plans to build around the country some $10 million of plants which New York Life has contracted to buy and then lease back to Continental.

Filene's big department store in Boston leases its quarters from Equitable Life to which it sold the building for $10 million. Equitable has shelled out an average of $250,000 each for ten of Fruehauf Trailer Company's service, assembly and repair stations.

Mutual Life is building a $3.2 million research laboratory for Sterling Drug. It owns and rents 15 Sears Roebuck stores scattered from Maine to California.

Mutual Benefit now collects rent on five Food Fair Supermarkets throughout New Jersey bought from the grocery chain for $1.2 million.

Smaller, independent businessmen can get as many jitters out of that news story as they can out of a case of whisky.

With life-insurance-company billions behind them, the chain operators can now envision domination of many distributing and marketing fields by the simple process of building more stores, selling them to a life company and taking back a lease. The system solves much of the chains' finance problem while supplying the life companies with an investment outlet for the huge sums they are annually piling up.

The 1948 Life Insurance Fact Book shows that the life companies' capital-accumulating machinery is running smoothly, with high production of capital.

Here are a few facts about how it worked in 1947, taken out of that volume:

1. A total of 75 million policyholders paid $6,656 million in premiums to the legal reserve life-insurance companies in 1947—a sum comparable to what used to be the ordinary budget of the United States Government.

2. Income from investments and properties owned by the companies (with their $51.7 billion of assets) increased their total 1947 *income* to $9,032 million.

3. The companies paid beneficiaries just $1,339,390,000 in death benefits during the year. They also paid $1,631,811,000 in "living" benefits to policyholders in matured endowments, disability payments, annuity payments, surrender values and dividends. *That totals under $3 billion paid to policyholders or beneficiaries in a year of $9 billion total income.*

4. Operating expenses of the companies ran $1,415 million.

5. There was $3,544 million left to go into surplus and reserves—and

See How They Grow!

THE GROWTH in total assets of a dozen major life-insurance companies is shown in the following table of gains between December 31, 1946, and December 31, 1947, taken from Dunne's International Insurance Reports:

Company and Home Office	*Admitted Assets 12/31/1946*	*Admitted Assets 12/31/1947*
Metropolitan, New York City	$ 8,045,432,384	$ 8,548,422,601
Prudential, Newark, N. J.	6,829,542,249	7,321,488,722
Equitable Life Assur., N. Y. C.	4,192,528,129	4,504,971,753
New York Life, New York City	4,026,689,280	4,234,184,598
Northwestern Mutual, Milwaukee	2,019,054,746	2,156,091,901
John Hancock Mutual, Boston	2,037,505,696	2,228,963,772
Mutual Life of New York, N. Y. C.	1,845,769,522	1,942,722,347
Travelers, Hartford	1,589,220,051	1,647,531,103
Aetna, Hartford	1,241,466,207	1,363,091,925
Penn Mutual, Philadelphia	1,070,105,857	1,126,019,097
Massachusetts Mutual, Springfield	1,084,443,467	1,153,762,775
Mutual Benefit Life, Newark	1,069,037,399	1,123,435,461
Totals	$35,050,794,987	$37,350,686,055

The table also illustrates concentration within concentration. The $37.35 billion held by the 12 companies above at the end of 1947 was 72 percent of the assets of all legal reserve life companies. The assets held by the top six companies, $28.99 billion, was more than half the assets of all.

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to be invested, along with reinvestment of other billions being repaid to the companies from year to year after payment of all liabilities, including dividends, taxes, etc.

One serious aspect of the problem which concerns most of the states is the draining away of their investment capital to New York. Colorado wants new industry. But there is a shortage of local capital in that state. Part of the reason is that $18 million to $20 million annually, net, is taken out of the state via life-insurance premiums.

Texas is aware of this problem. It has a graduated premium tax on foreign insurance corporations. Companies which reinvest heavily in Texas enterprises get the most favorable tax rates, giving them an incentive to make the capital accumulations useful to the state of origin.

Some labor and farm groups are recognizing this same sort of drain out of their population group—and doing something about it.

The National Farmers' Union established a fraternal life-insurance company on December 7, 1937. This company has a stated policy of using its reserves to supply sound, needed credit to farmers and their coöperatives. It has aided more than 50 co-ops with real-estate loans. Although still small, it has shown that the capital-gathering facility of a life-insurance company can be used by coöperators as well as Eastern financiers.

Farm Bureau Life Insurance Company of Columbus, Ohio, founded in 1929, now operates in 14 states. Its president, Murray Lincoln, is an international coöperative leader.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have life companies, the former established in 1873 and the latter in 1883.

The grand total assets of all these companies, however, is under $100 million—less than one five-hundredth of the total admitted assets of all the legal reserve life companies.

A few more coöperative companies are in the offing. The United Auto Workers and other labor groups are interested and will undoubtedly form companies soon. There may be rapid development of organizational life-insurance firms in the farm field, for the "old line" companies are shutting down on farm credit.

The giant Aetna Life Insurance Company, with $1,363,711,051 in assets at the end of 1947, has gone entirely out of the field of farm loans, although it was once a heavy lender to farmers.

M. B. Brainard, Aetna president, explains that farm loans "no longer return an adequate rate of interest; they were expensive to handle," etc.

It might be argued that Aetna could, for non-financial policy reasons, continue to make credit available to farmers. Dunne's International Insurance Reports show that the company had an income of $241,701,068 in 1947 and an outgo of $132,467,955. Its ratio of admitted assets to liabilities (including the reserve requirements of state laws) was 110.14. In other words, it had $110.14 for every $100 of liabilities. It paid $1,050,000 in dividends during the year and added $4,359,202 to surplus. (It has $15 million, par value, of stock outstanding.)

Some farmers may not be able to understand Aetna's pinch, forcing it out of farm loans, and turn to their own organization companies. But, while those companies are interesting, they have no prospect of becoming an answer to the over-all problems of life insurance soon enough.

Some life-company executives are seriously concerned about the problems presented by their own industry.

The $3.5 billion of new money they have to invest each year, plus the billions paid back and requiring reinvestment, can have a considerable effect on the national economic budget. Some of their loans affect international affairs, for some of the companies receiving those loans are operating abroad for what they can make.

The life companies are required by state laws to maintain reserves against each and every policy in force. It has been pointed out that the industry, totally, could go on a current operating basis. It collects more premiums each year than all claims and operating expenses.

But the reserves are required by law, and they are defended as just as essential as a bank's reserves against deposits. Much of the insurance premium is, in actuality, a savings deposit, placed with the company so the policy will become paid up, or endow, in a period of years.

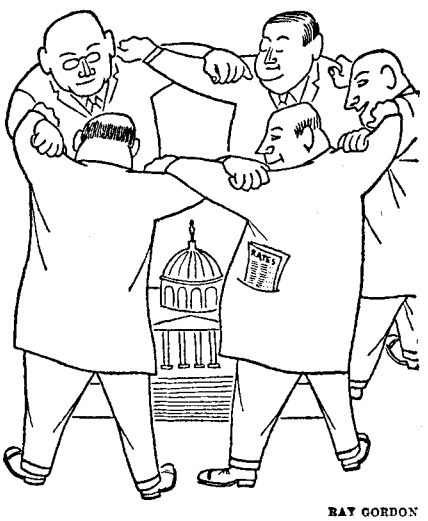
It is sometimes suggested that the industry should be required to get out of the savings field and write only "term" insurance—a policy insuring against the risk of death only, as a fire-insurance policy is against the risk of fire only.

There are those that believe the government must take over (which would add to the already existent problem of whether to reserve, or not to reserve, social-security benefits).

Representative Celler, who is the sparkplug of the Celler-McCarran resolution now before Congress for an investigation of the life companies, has no preconceived answers to the problem. But he is sure that there must be some controls.

"We must curb their powers," he declares.

"With their web of interlocking directorates, their concentration of economic power, and their self-perpetuating directors and officers, they are able to formulate a financial policy stronger than the policy of the national government itself."



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THE GROWING NEED FOR CVA

Floods, erosion, deforestation, and an inadequate power supply all threaten the economy of the Columbia River Basin

by Joe Miller

SEATTLE

WHEN President Truman's proposal to create a Columbia Valley Authority was told to Purcell L. Smith, $65,000-a-year lobbyist for the private power interests, he exclaimed, "But the Northwest's people neither want nor need a CVA!"

Perhaps a farmer in Washington State's Columbia basin might disagree with him. The farmer wonders as he watches the dark snow clouds gathering over the distant Cascade Mountains, "Do those clouds mean more floods this year?"

There is good reason for his fear. Last June he was one of the thousands of Pacific Northwest farmers who lost the greater part of their crops as Columbia flood waters inundated more than 224,000 acres of farm land. Since that catastrophe the fear of floods has become a major one to the people of the Pacific Northwest. The United States Geological Survey Bureau has warned them in a recent report that "these floods, or the conditions that created them, will undoubtedly recur in the future." Those who live near the Columbia realize there is little to protect them if the waters run wild again, since flood-control plans remain largely in the blueprint stage.

Perhaps a worker in one of the Northwest's hydroelectric-powered industries might disagree with Smith too. The worst power shortage in the region's history browned out the Northwest this winter and threw 155,000 men out of work, according to the recent congressional testimony of Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville power administrator. A region that contains 42 percent of the nation's total hydroelectric potential, doesn't have enough power for its own industries. Only 10 percent of the potential total is developed.

Many an idle worker remembers that at a Seattle hearing in 1946 representatives of Washington Water Power, Pacific Power and Light and Northwestern Electric helped hold up construction of more dams on the Columbia by testifying that "we would have a surplus supply of power so great that it would run a million kilowatts or more for a period of ten years."

"We'll have kilowatts running out of our ears," said Kinsey M. Robinson, president of Washington Water Power. Last year the same Robinson blamed the shortage on "the lack of government foresight along with the federal attempt to force private power into a subordinate position by expropriating all major dam sites."

Whatever the reasons, many Pacific Northwesterners are beginning to have deep-rooted fears over the future course of this region. The latest population figures for the Northwest show an increase of 36 percent since 1940. While this increase has been triple the national average, unemployment figures in the Northwest are double the national level. The lag in industrial development has meant that nearly 200,000 persons are without employment in Washington and Oregon today.

If the region is to survive economically, new jobs must be found for these people. The Northwest must produce goods and services worth $8.5 billion a year and provide about 2.5 million jobs.

Regional planners agree that the way to accomplish this task is to develop the 25 to 30 million kilowatt potential of the Columbia and reclaim the nine million sagebrush acres for farm use. The question is how it is to be done.

No less an authority than Bernard DeVoto believes that, of all the American "colonies," the Northwest has the best chance to free itself from its provincial status. DeVoto contends that the area's economic and social homogeneity and its war-built industrial development provide the opportunity to break away from the East's economic control.

Cheap power is the answer. During the war boom and after, industrialists were anxious to locate plants in the Northwest because of the federal power rate, the lowest in the nation—$17.50 per kilowatt year. Henry Kaiser saves $500,000 a month in power alone at his Spokane aluminum mill, and other industrialists who got in before the power ran out are making similar savings.

But the power shortage, which is expected to last until 1954, has discouraged manufacturers from locating new plants in the Northwest. "We're losing new industries every day because of the kilowatt crisis," moans an official of the Portland Chamber of Commerce. Other communities, such as Hoquiam and Aberdeen, Washington, have been forced to discourage prospective businesses.

It isn't merely the farmers, workers and industrialists who would benefit by a uniform program of Northwest development. At Glenns Ferry, Idaho, which lies in a semi-desert between Boise and Twin Falls, a young mechanic I talked with complained that little land-reclamation work had been done in that area.

"We were told that family farms would be provided for veterans," he said. "I've been working in this garage for three years and nothing has happened yet."

A lumberman I talked with at Coos Bay, Oregon, was worried for another reason. "Less than 25 percent of the Northwest's timber is left, and the US Forest Service says all the region's privately owned timber will be gone in 15 years," he said.

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"Timber has been the No. 1 resource of this country. It has supported 25 percent of us; we've thought it was inexhaustible. Look at it now. Unless we do more than point with pride at the few showcase tree farms, there won't be any more lumber industry."

Mining men say the same thing. "We've dug and dug, and pretty soon there won't be any more," one of them told me. "We've got to explore for new mineral resources."

It was an increased realization of these common problems that led the voters of every Northwest state but Oregon to give Truman a good-sized majority last November. In the Far West, where he campaigned largely on the issues of public power and river-valley development, the President received an electoral-vote majority of 59.

Western voters remembered the record of the 80th Congress in slashing reclamation appropriations and saw through Governor Dewey's lengthy platitudes on Western development. They seemed to think that Republican policy would be to build dams at government expense, then sell power to the private utilities at preferential rates, getting the taxpayer going and coming.

Creation of a CVA was one of the Democratic Party's campaign promises, written into the platform by young Representative Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington. The CVA bill, now being drawn up by a presidential team headed by Charles Murphy, will not create any new federal authority in the region, but will be "primarily just a mechanism for better operation of existing agencies in the region."

The quote belongs to C. Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior. Davidson believes that the bill will contain the "better parts" of the TVA, with added provisions for reclamation and irrigation, problems foreign to the Tennessee Valley.

The CVA, like the TVA, would be independent of everyone but Congress, but would be required to consult with state governments and provide for cooperative research to be done with regional universities and colleges. Its offices would be located in the Pacific Northwest—a chunk of Washington, D. C., moved to the grassroots. The CVA's job would be:

¶ Full development of the region's vast sources of hydroelectric power. This power is not only important for the nation's defense; it is also the basis of the Northwest's hope of creating a diversified economy.

¶ Preparation of some nine million acres of sagebrush land for agricultural development. Reclamation of this land will provide more than 100,000 family-size farms for new settlers.

¶ Development of a river transportation system which will furnish the region's internal areas with cheap and easy access to the sea.

¶ Exploration of the region's untapped mineral wealth.

¶ Development of power technology with a view to concentrating the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries of the West. A good start has been made. During the war Northwestern plants produced 600,000 pounds of aluminum a year (one-third of the nation's total) and contributed an equally impressive output of calcium carbide, magnesium and ferro-silicon.

¶ Protection and stabilization of the Northwest's valuable fishing and lumber industries, which have suffered from "boom and bust" exploitation.

¶ Development of the region as a tourist and recreational center.

¶ Effective flood control.

Supported by the Republican Governors of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, the Seattle and Portland Chambers of Commerce and other businessmen's groups, the private power interests have sounded a diehard opposition to such plans. The same groups which opposed Bonneville and Grand Coulee are now determined to stop the CVA.

Lined up against them is the first farmer-labor coalition in the Northwest's history. Eleven AFL, CIO, Grange and Farmers' Union state organizations have joined in a League for CVA.

At a recent regionwide meeting in Portland, leaders of these groups voted financial support to the CVA campaign after Evan Weston, Washington state AFL president, warned that "the giant power combines will spend big money to mislead the public about CVA."

Also backing the CVA are many Northwest residents. A young businessman from Pasco, Washington, said: "We've always operated on a raw-material economy. We buy pots and pans made from our aluminum in Cleveland, furniture made from our lumber in Grand Rapids. What we've got to have is a diversified economy to give us stability, a good standard of living and the materials to compete successfully with other sections of the country.

"No one has come up with a better idea than CVA, and that's why I'm for it."

The Northwest's outstanding businessman, E. B. McNaughton, has pub-

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licly expressed support of the CVA. A lifelong Republican, McNaughton told a luncheon of amazed Portland businessmen that a CVA "had tremendous possibilities for the region." He recalled business' bitter opposition to Grand Coulee and Bonneville years ago and asked the group: "If Roosevelt had not given Bonneville and activated Grand Coulee, where would we be today?"

Such influential heretics keep the CVA's enemies awake nights. Hugh Mitchell, who fathered the original CVA bill in 1945, believes that the most powerful opposition stems from Eastern absentee owners. They do not want a new federal agency which might halt their rapid exploitation of the Northwest.

However, most Northwest Republicans have faithfully recited their denunciations of the CVA. The anti-CVA Seattle *Times* reported on January 29 that the local Republican county commissioners passed a resolution opposing the CVA, although two of the three commissioners admitted beforehand that they didn't know a thing about it.

Most of the Northwest's daily newspapers have continued to lay down a barrage of editorials condemning the CVA. "It must be fought with all the vigor we possess," said the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*. Last year President Truman called this paper one of the two worst in the nation. One newspaper, the Tacoma *Times*, has published a pro-CVA editorial. The Portland *Oregonian* and the Wenatchee *World* are maintaining open minds, but most of the others have shouted that the CVA is "communism," "socialism" or "fascism."

President Truman, who saw the floods in the Northwest on his campaign tour last summer, is reported to have placed the CVA high on the agenda for congressional action. Perhaps he has been looking at some of the region's anti-CVA newspapers and remembering what the nation's press said about him until the day after election. From that point of view, the prospects for the CVA should be good.

ISRAEL AND THE IRON CURTAIN

Tension is being created by an anti-Zionist policy in the Soviet satellite countries restricting emigration to Palestine

by J. L. Teller

ALTHOUGH REPORTS that the USSR is shifting from a friendly to a hostile attitude toward Israel are probably unfounded, for the good reason that the Soviets don't want to drive Israel into the arms of the Western powers, tensions do exist between the Jewish state and some of the Soviet-orbit governments. These irritations, involving the status of the Zionist movement in those countries and permission for their Jewish nationals to emigrate to Israel, are purely local and vary from nation to nation. The single piece of evidence that links these exacerbations to Moscow is a recent article in the *Literary Gazette*, a Soviet publication, which condemned Zionism as "a bacterial weapon in the West's war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies." But it must be remembered that Zionism has been illegal in the Soviet Union for nearly three decades, and that the ban was never removed or relaxed despite Moscow's support of Israel.

The most persistent foes and persecutors of Zionism in the USSR have always been Communists who were Jews themselves. No wonder, therefore, that of all Soviet countries, the plight of Zionism is worst in Rumania, whose Foreign Minister, Ana Pauker, is a Jew. Although Ana Pauker had promised Israeli representatives to remove all obstacles to Rumanian Jews' emigration, the past few months have seen little more than a trickle, in spite of the fact that Rumania's Constanta served as a major seaport for Haganah's illegal immigrant fleet not so long ago.

The shutting off of Jewish emigration from Rumania capped an anti-Zionist campaign which began last summer with the sequestering of Zionist premises by Jewish Communist shock troops. When the Zionists forcibly ousted the invaders, the government intervened, establishing a temporary truce and arresting the heads of the Zionist fund-raising agencies in Rumania on charges of black marketeering.

Shortly thereafter, all Zionist parties but one—the pro-Soviet, Left-Socialist Mapam—announced their "voluntary" dissolution. Within the past month Mapam, too, shut down and began liquidating its hundred-odd farms on which thousands of Rumanian Jewish youths were being trained for agricultural pioneering in Israel. At about the same time, seven Zionist leaders from Israel were arrested by Rumanian authorities for allegedly "stirring up" Rumanian Jewish youth, and held for two weeks.

In Hungary, too, the Communist Party, and particularly its Jewish adjunct, has been conducting a virulent anti-Zionist campaign. The lid on emigration to Israel has been tightened. Negotiating a trade treaty with Budapest, Ehud Avriel, Israeli envoy to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, is said to have stipulated orally that an unlimited number of Jews were to be permitted to go to Israel, leaving their assets behind to cover the new state's unfavorable balance of trade with Hungary. Hungary, however, chose a mere trainload of wealthy Jews who could make up the difference themselves, and refused to grant additional exit permits. Israel reopened negotiations, and Hungary finally agreed to the departure of 50,000 Jews. When Budapest reneged for the second time, the Israeli representative warned that the trade agreement between the two

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countries was being jeopardized by this breach of faith.

Reports to responsible Jewish organizations are that Hungary reduced the figure to 30,000 and then reneged for the third time. A Budapest Foreign Office spokesman has publicly denied an emigration agreement with Israel, while Moshe Sharet, Israeli Foreign Minister, expressed surprise over the denial.

There are reports of the same nature involving Czechoslovakia. It is said that while Avriel, who has set up residence in Prague, was engaged in negotiations in Budapest, the Czech government also began enmeshing emigration in a maze of red tape.

From Poland also there has been only a trickle of Israeli-bound emigres in recent months. But the Polish government has repeatedly denied that this was due to deliberate policy. Jewish organizations have been informed that Warsaw will restrict emigration to "active Zionists" and to those who have "relatives" in Israel, but the terms "relative" and "active Zionist" have not as yet been defined by the government. It may mean, however, that all Soviet-orbit nations will eventually permit the departure of influential Zionists to avoid adding a Jewish problem to the Catholic and Protestant difficulties.

In one respect, Poland is an exception among the USSR's satellite states. It and Bulgaria are the only countries in which there has been no consistent, all-out campaign thus far against Zionist groups. The reason perhaps is that within sight of the crematoria in which six million Jews perished, not even the most rabid anti-Zionist among the Jewish Communists in Poland has the gall to traduce and persecute the advocates of Israel as the primary solution to the Jewish problem.

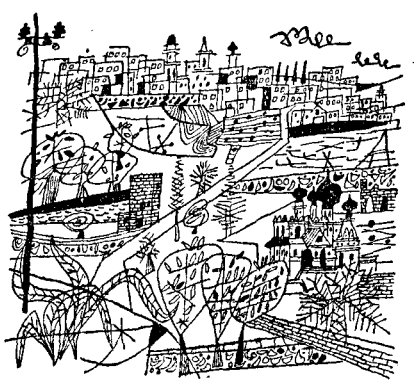
Bulgaria has the unique record of having allowed its Jews to emigrate more or less freely and take the tools of their trades with them. As a consequence, about three-quarters of the Bulgarian Jews have left for Israel.

The Zionists, of course, had never really entertained hopes that Zionism, a non-Communist movement, would for long be countenanced by Communist governments that do not even permit intramural Communist dissidence. They had hoped, however, that emigration to Israel would continue unimpeded.

Zionism was hard hit when it lost contact with Russian Jewry after the Communist revolution at the end of World War One, because the Jews of Russia had been a primary source of manpower and financial support for the Jewish undertaking in Palestine. The shock was tantamount to what Israel would feel today if it were suddenly isolated from US Jewry.

Zionists and Communists alike were surprised when Andrei Gromyko, addressing the UN General Assembly in 1947, announced his government's support of a Jewish state. The Zionist leaders were deluded by the announcement into supposing that not only would Jews from all the Soviet-orbit countries be permitted to leave for Israel, but that USSR Jews as well might eventually be granted exit permits. Such an addition to the population would reinforce the Jewish state, whose development and security, and ability to "digest" the newcomers from the DP camps, with their awesome percentage of physically and psychologically handicapped, depend on an influx of the vigorous Jewish stock that only the Americas, the Anglo-Saxon countries and Eastern Europe can offer. The Jewish Communists, conversely, dared not attack Zionism lest they bring down upon themselves the wrath of the Kremlin, which had come out squarely for a Jewish state.

Nor were the Jewish Communists really concerned about the early type of emigrant for Israel. These were mostly middle-class people, fleeing nationalization, leaving behind everything but the hope of making a new start in Palestine. Because Hitler's anti-Semitic heritage in the satellite countries was feeding on the fiction that the Jewish middleman was all evil, the Jewish Communists witnessed his departure with some relief. They did become disturbed, however, when young, skilled laborers and artisans applied for exit permits. When the fever to settle in Israel began to infect even Communist Party ranks, the Jewish Communists decided to move in on the Zionists for a showdown.



MOUNT OF OLIVES, JERUSALEM

The time was auspicious: Soviet artists and musicians were being attacked for "cosmopolitan" and "bourgeois" tendencies and a purge in all spheres was spreading through the Soviet-orbit nations. As the new isolationism gained momentum, the Jewish Communists complemented it with a vigorous campaign against Zionism and all non-Communist Jewish institutions. In Rumania, for example, the Jewish Democratic Committee was purged so thoroughly that all key posts are now under Communist control; foreign Jewish relief organizations have been "invited" to liquidate their offices and transfer their assets to the Federation of Jewish Communities, which is now Communist-controlled. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, ORT and OZE are the overseas relief organizations involved.

But Israel still hopes that some Jewish emigration from the satellite countries will be permitted. As in the case of Hungary, trade agreements may serve as a key to reopen the doors to Jews seeking to leave. Tito, teetering between the Kremlin and the Marshall Plan, is said to have unashamedly offered to barter Jewish residents for better trade provisions. Some observers maintain that the emigration of Jews from Soviet-orbit countries will depend in great measure on how well Moscow is satisfied that Israel will not become involved in any subsidiary alliances of the Atlantic Pact.

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THE SUCKER STATE SEES RED

Illinois' unconstitutional legislature defends our liberties by snooping around the campuses of Chicago

by Herman Kogan

WITH A WHINE of petulant anger, the Illinois State Legislature has decreed an investigation of "any and all subversive activities which may now exist" at two of Chicago's notable educational institutions, the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College.

Although the inquiry is presumably aimed at determining the extent to which students there have become "indoctrinated with Communistic and other subversive theories contrary to our free system of representative government," local liberals, mindful of the witch-hunting tactics of other legislative bodies, anticipate a smear campaign against both schools.

The University of Chicago, which emerged from a similar probe in 1935 with a gleaming countenance and a fat grant from Charles Walgreen, the drug magnate who instigated that investigation, has long been a target for local reactionaries (and Communists, too). Its enlightened, brilliant chancellor, Robert M. Hutchins, is marked as a dangerous internationalist by the Chicago *Tribune* for his ideas on world government.

Roosevelt College, named for the late President, was founded several years ago by Edward J. Sparling and a group of professors as an institution free from racial and religious discrimination. Its trustees include Harold Ickes, Marshall Field, Philip Murray, Federal Judge William J. Campbell, religious and labor leaders. It too has been called "Red" by conservatives—and has been denounced frequently by the city's Communists.

What gives special interest to the investigation, scheduled to start any day now, is the manner in which it was touched off.

On last March 1, the Illinois Senate Judiciary Committee convened in Springfield, the state capital, to consider six bills proposed by the Seditious Activities Committee, named two years ago and headed by Representative Paul Broyles, a downstate Republican and former American Legion officer who is sincere, naïve, and plodding.

These bills, the result of considerable probing and nosing about by ex-FBI men, are intended, among other things, to outlaw the Communist Party in Illinois, force teachers as well as public officials to take non-Communist oaths, and make membership in alleged Communist-front groups a felony punishable by a fine and jail sentence.

To lobby against the Broyles bills some 200 students and older persons jammed the hearing room in Springfield. Of the students, about 110 were from the University of Chicago and 15 to 20 from Roosevelt. All paid their own way.

Some mild heckling interrupted the hearing, but on the whole the session was orderly. Later, however, when the session ended, some of the more voluble students cornered a few of the legislators, pushed them against the wall and did a little angry finger-waving and overt protesting. Annoyed by this show of irritation over the Broyles bills was a young legislator, Representative William "Wild Bill" Horsley. His indignation and ire grew as he learned later in the evening that a group of white and Negro students, refused service in the Abraham Lincoln Hotel, had raised a commotion in the lobby, and that another such group, unable to get sandwiches in a local drug store, had brought in its own food and messed up the place.

So on the next day, Horsley arose in the lower house, an angry tremor in his voice. These students, he disclosed, were inspired by Communist agitators. He'd seen an old-line Communist acting as cheer-leader. "They are not clean-cut like your boy and girl and mine," he declared. "They don't have that clean-cut American look." And, what was worse, these "Communists" were all students at either Roosevelt or the U of C (or so Horsley said he'd been told) and it was indeed a dark fact that both schools had Communist Clubs. "My fears aren't aroused by the 200 students who came down here, but I am afraid it might indicate there are thousands of their comrades at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College!"

In no time, others had got into Horsley's act. Representative Clinton Searle, also a Republican, voiced his sorrow for ever having attended the U of C. "I apologize to the house because I graduated from the University of Chicago and I am ashamed of it," he moaned. "I wouldn't send my pet dog there now." Senator Roland Libonati, who got his start in politics when Al Capone ran Chicago, took the lead in urging members of the upper house to back the Horsley resolution. And Senator William "Bottchy" Connors, who bosses Chicago's notorious 42nd Ward, which embraces both the Gold Coast and the North Clark Street honkytonks and vice dens, came up with an antiseptic theory of Americanism: "That crowd was the dirtiest, greasiest bunch of young people I have ever seen. If they're dirty outside, how can they be clean inside?"

The resolution was passed unanimously and a few days later, after a hastily called hearing, the state senate

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also approved it. Only one member, A. L. Marovitz, an able Chicago lawyer and ex-Marine, dared oppose it, saying, "I feel the greatest contempt for Communism, but I am dedicated to the principles of free speech."

As framed, the resolution provides for Broyles and two members of a subcommittee to conduct the investigation at a cost of $2,500 and report back to the legislature by May 15. At this writing, it is not known if the investigation will take the form of public hearings or more undercover work by Broyles's operatives. The subcommittee can, if it wishes, subpoena witnesses, books and records.

Already, the objects of the legislature's solicitude are preparing for whatever comes. Students representing various shades of political and religious opinion at the U of C have banded into an all-student committee to counteract not only the Horsley probe but the Broyles bills. Incidentally, one of the first public statements of this group was to show that in addition to a handful of Communist Club members at the judiciary-committee hearing (the U of C's Communist Club has 12 members; Roosevelt's club five to ten) there were others representing these groups: American Veterans' Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Student Republican Club, American Civil Liberties Union, Baptist Divinity Students, and Meadville Theological Students.

From Ernest Cadman Colwell, U of C's president, has come an unmistakably clear statement:

> The resolution of the legislature states that it is aimed at students who protested, at a public committee hearing, legislation which would outlaw the Communist Party. Under our philosophy of government, they as citizens have a right to question the wisdom of this kind of legislation just as the recent Republican candidate for President of the United States doubted the wisdom of similar legislation by Congress. Once before, in 1935, the legislature investigated the University. No evidence of Communist indoctrination was produced then. We are confident none can be produced now.

And President Sparling of Roosevelt has also extended a "welcome" to any investigators: "We have nothing to conceal from a fairly conducted investigation."

With the exception of the liberal *Sun-Times,* the local press solemnly applauds the Horsley investigation. So far as Hearst's *Herald-American* is concerned, the delegation of students was a "mob of 500" and, of course, all "Reds." The *Daily News* allowed as how the Springfield "demonstration" was "clearly carefully planned, rehearsed and financed by the Communists"—a charge the U of C students quickly denied with facts and evidence. The *Tribune*, naturally, is delighted.

But despite this moral support, some of the legislators are starting to feel they may have acted hastily. Broyles himself insists he has no desire to "hurt these schools" and that there will be no Thomas Committee type of antics. Actually, he is said to fear that if the Horsley inquiry is a flop, his bills' chance of passage will be a lot slimmer.

Several top Republican lawyers in the state senate have already advised Broyles privately that three of his proposed bills are probably unconstitutional and that the remaining ones need some modification to make them acceptable legally. They have also pointed out that most of the elements he fears and seeks to combat in his bills are now covered by existing state statutes.

These men are now going over the bills to "take the hysteria" out of them, although in their original form they hastily passed the senate by overwhelming majorities and are now waiting action in the house. The first bill, passed 39 to 9, defines Communism ("the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, destruction of property, corruption of governmental agencies or other acts of force or violence or insidious or treacherous acts for the purpose of accomplishing the destruction of the free systems of representative government") and subjects convicted Communists to prison sentences of one to five years. The second, passed 44 to 6, bars from employment as teachers or professors any persons advocating unlawful overthrow of the US Government. And the third, passed 42 to 7, provides for dismissal of any teacher advocating in his teaching any doctrine designed to undermine the US or Illinois government by force or violence. To date the senate has not acted on another bill which would make the Broyles commission a permanent anti-subversive group with an annual $75,000 appropriation.

So far, Governor Adlai Stevenson, who is said to have little taste for either the Horsley investigation or the Broyles bills in their present form, has made no public announcement of an official stand on the important matter. He is said, however, to have conferred with his legislative adviser, Richard J. Daley, director of the State Revenue Department, about methods of opposing the measures.

Currently engaged in a fight to call a constitutional convention to revise the state's archaic Constitution, the new Governor needs all his resources for that struggle, since his foes in the legislature are powerful, willful and smart. The *Sun-Times's* Milburn P. Akers, whose comments on the "Red" quiz are no less caustic than his discussion of those opposing a constitutional convention, recently linked both with this statement:

> Of course, it is a bit ironic that two great educational institutions are to be investigated for communism by the Illinois General Assembly, next to the Supreme Soviet probably the least representative and most undemocratic legislative body in existence.
>
> That Assembly, Democratic house and Republican senate, professes an ardent interest in upholding American principles, so ardent it retaliates by ordering an investigation . . . because a handful of students displayed bad manners. But what of the assembly? Its members, session after session, violate their oaths to uphold and defend the Constitution by refusing to reapportion the state as ordered by the Constitution.
>
> Which is the greater threat to constitutional government in Illinois? A handful of befuddled students . . . or a legislature which brazenly violates, session after session, every principle and vestige of representative government by blatant and cynical refusal to abide by their oaths. . . ?

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

COMMUNIQUES FROM THE COLD-WAR FRONT

by Richard E. Lauterbach

IN ANGER AND PITY, by Robert Magidoff (Doubleday; $2.95).

RUSSIA'S RACE FOR ASIA, by George Creel (Bobbs Merrill; $2.75).

THESE ARE TIMES when some of one's best friends are called spies by some country or other. Robert Magidoff, an American of Russian parentage, had the distinction of being the first US newspaperman expelled from Moscow and called a "spy" as the result of the cold war. He has come back to this country after almost twelve years of continuous service as a correspondent in the USSR, he has gone on a lecture tour, he has written a book, he has settled in Louisville, Kentucky, with his handsome Russian wife. He has done all these things mildly and in character. Whatever his lecture fees are, they would assuredly be doubled if Magidoff pounded his fists and shouted for revenge; his book sales would be more if he embellished what he believes to be the truth with a crusading call for the holy-war-in-a-hurry.

Instead, Magidoff has talked and written about his own experiences, about the Russian intellectuals and servants he knew, about the state of art, literature and music in the Soviet capital, about his courtship of the fair Nila, about strenuous Soviet efforts to indoctrinate their new elite with good manners *à la* Emily Post. All this is set down in solid English, with rare dashes of humor—not all deliberate.

The most valuable chapters are those on the cultural life of Moscow. Magidoff, with his love of good literature, music and theatre, with his exquisite understanding of the Russian language, has few peers among foreigners in writing on this topic. Many of the criticisms which the author makes have been previously published by others. But Magidoff relates the effects of the cultural "purge" to men he has known and observed for more than a decade. His account of how the current cold-war line has stifled creative artists in Russia will move many readers to the fervent hope that a bipartisan foreign policy may never lead to similar censorship here.

In his final chapter Magidoff has bowed to the current demand for "Answers to Questions on Russia." He reports that the purchasing power of the ruble has risen, that workers' absenteeism has reached the lowest point ever recorded, but that the Soviet citizen is still without most amenities, "which he has never had anyway."

As for Stalin's successor, Magidoff casts a hesitant vote for Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, the former Mayor of Moscow who took Stalin's post as Minister of the Armed Forces. What of war or peace? "I think no nation in the world detests the thought of another war more than Russia," Magidoff writes. He underscores, however, that Soviet citizens "are not aware of the gravity of the international situation today. The controlled press and radio play down the subject of war. Were it played up as much as it is being played up in the United States, it would have a serious negative effect on the morale of the Soviet people, and would have considerably lowered labor productivity."

He goes on: "It is my deepest conviction that the Kremlin also does not seek war now or at any time in the foreseeable future. . . . I believe that the Soviet Union will stop short of war on any issue." The author also has a "deepest conviction" that war between the Soviet Union and the United States is not inevitable, that time, contrary to the Marxist belief, is on our side and not on the Russians' and that to make it count for us we must wage "dynamic and constructive peace."

One strong weapon for doing just that is "The Voice of America." Magidoff urges that we keep up a constant barrage of truthful radio news about ourselves, about world events, about the Soviet Union. This is our only direct way of reaching the Russian people, he believes, and it is effective because, despite all the Kremlin pressures, they are still "responsive" to what we say.

Izvestia to the contrary, *In Anger and Pity* does not read like the report of an American intelligence agent. It is the sincere, disjointed, often sad journal of an unwilling disillusionment which has led Magidoff not to hysteria but to a temperate viewpoint rare among foreign correspondents or Pentagonians.

George Creel, trained propagandist that he is, has undertaken to unsell the American people on several debatable ideas about China foisted on them by Reds, fellow travelers and credulous liberals and to sell them on a bookful of gleaming half-truths of his own, or almost his own. It is a fascinating job of scissor and paste work, of slashing frontal attacks and of gaudy but certainly not neat knives in the back. The end result might have been entirely successful and devastatingly persuasive if nobody but Creel, and perhaps General Chennault, had ever been to China in recent years or had ever studied that nation's history.

The jacket says that in 1948 Creel went to China, where "he visited all the principal cities and interviewed every person of importance." Allowances for the usual huckstering in book blurbs still leaves this in the tall-order department. If true, the author has failed to transmit his first-hand impressions of a host of important anti-Kuomintang non-Communists; and in his efforts to characterize the Chinese Communist leaders, now of some im-

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portance, he has relied on generous quotations from Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, first published more than a decade ago.

Creel's main theses are that we Americans have been deluded into thinking that the Chinese Communists are agrarian reformers and quasi-democrats when they are really dyed-in-the-Kremlin Marxists; that Moscow now runs and has always run the Chinese Communist Party, so that it cannot in any sense be considered "indigenous"; that the ultimate responsibility for China's current catastrophe belongs to the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, and most especially to those soft-minded American generals, Stilwell and Marshall, who allowed the Communists to pull the red wool over their starry eyes.

To pick up Creel's propaganda path and sort the facts from the fictions would require a book almost as long and tedious as his. Here are a few random Creelisms:

¶ That American liberals preach the way to beat Communism is not to aid China's Central Government "but rather to remedy the ills and evils of *our* democracy." (Liberals have repeatedly urged reforms in Chiang's government, argued that Communism in China and elsewhere could only be checked by offering a better alternative.)

¶ That truces "compelled" by General Marshall saved the Red armies from defeat. (Judging from their subsequent battle records, it could have been the other way around.)

¶ That the Communists won because of superior arms while the Nationalists "were scraping the bottom of the barrel for bullets, and forced to march slowly and laboriously from lack of trucks." (Chiang's armies have always enjoyed better transport, including American planes; a recent statement by ECA's Charles Stillman confirms the fact that the Nationalists did not fail for any lack of ammunition.)

¶ That the Russians, in addition to giving the Chinese Reds stores of captured Japanese supplies, have been sending in tanks, trucks and other heavy equipment. (Often rumored, this claim has never been proved by a responsible US official. Intelligence reports have never confirmed it; General Marshall, on his return, denied it.)

¶ That General Marshall, when mediating the civil war, was guilty of a "determined attempt to give the Communists a 50-50 share in China's government." (Marshall went to great lengths to make peace, but no such figure as "50-50" could have entered the negotiations at that time.)

Some of these assertions are attributed, generously. Creel lines up his authorities, primes their guns, and then riddles his opposition with a salvo of quotes. One tends to doubt even the more reasonable charges against the Chinese Communists and the American State Department because the author has also found it expedient to create Chiang Kai-shek in the image and likeness of George Washington, Charlemagne, Confucius, and Tom Dewey as District Attorney. He also too easily dismisses corruption in the Kuomintang government, and partly condones it by pointing out that our Republicans and Democrats are not themselves free of graft. Creel applauds the Chinese Constitution, the Kuomintang land-reform program, the free and democratic elections, as if they were incontrovertible realities.

In conclusion the author calls for an American policy, new and positive, based on acceptance of the cardinal fact that "a Communist China is Russia's China." That policy is—well, Creel never does say. But one gold yuan will get you ten that it involves a three-letter word starting with "w."

Stylistically, the book is as popular and hard-hitting as a Reuben Maury editorial. But the juiciest paragraphs, for this reviewer, are the frequent extracts from Vinegar Joe Stilwell's diaries.

Richard E. Lauterbach, former Far East correspondent and Moscow Bureau chief for Time, was more recently feature editor of the New York Star. He is the author of These Are the Russians *and* Danger from the East.

GERMANS BEFORE HITLER

THE SORCERERS, by Rudolph Kieve (Houghton Mifflin Company; $4).

THE AUTHOR of this "historical" novel, a German-Jewish refugee now practising psychiatry in this country, presents an interesting exposé of twentieth-century Germany's dilemma, his premises being sound, though his conclusions are not always conclusive. The location is lovely little Burstedt, a fictitious town near Heidelberg; the time the crucial years between 1910 and 1923. Kieve shows Germany first as snobbish and smug, then as a sufferer of self-willed war and unwilled revolution, and finally as a wreck, sucked into the maelstrom of inflation. The characters are chiefly Teutonized Jews, dwelling not quite happily among the Teutons.

Patriarch Emanuel Sulzberger, successful and unimaginative, benevolent but tyrannical, seems able to live as both a devout Jew and a wealthy grain merchant among the unfriendly Gentiles, but his son Albert pierces this veneer of complacency. The young rebel reminds his father of a family scene involving a Christmas tree. "Could it be," he asks, "that you beat me so hard because you needed to make sure that you at least were still a pious man?" Albert is typical of a large number of assimilated German Jews who had tired of being Jews, and hated to live by rituals that were dead for them. Yet, tragically for them, these modernized Jews, who desperately, almost pathologically, strove to look and behave like Germans, who drove themselves to the point of loathing the unassimilated Eastern Jews, failed to impress the nationalist Germans.

The latter are represented in *The Sorcerers* by the Schucks, father and son. The elder Schuck, a big, blond, red-cheeked Prussian, a widower and bankrupt, is a human being, not a boot-slapping Junker villain. But the philosophy of his caste is wicked: wars are beneficial; the only thing that matters is power; non-Prussians are vermin, especially Jews and Poles. Never-

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theless, a peculiar friendship develops between Schuck, called from the North to manage the Sulzbergers' estate, and young Albert.

Schuck, who rejects his own good-for-nothing son, likes Albert because he can ride horseback and is almost a gentleman, although a Jew. Albert, however, loves Schuck as a father substitute because he is so delightfully un-Jewish. " 'On the back of this man [Schuck]', you said to yourself, 'I shall ride into the great free world of the Gentiles'," a clever Christian friend explained to him. Yet Albert cannot forever tolerate the arrogant barbarism of the Prussian, and Schuck comes to despise Albert for his "softness" toward the Polish migratory workers employed on his estate.

Albert is not cut out to be either an industrious businessman, like his father, or an adventurous go-getter, like Schuck. Wounded in the war, he begins to ponder the issues: "To consider the French and English his personal enemies was as incongruous as to consider the Germans his personal friends." And: "They were all equal victims of skillfully woven tissues without any precise meaning." Here apparently he voices the author's own opinion, not necessarily shared by other authorities. Eventually Albert comes not to care who won or lost the war, tritely and eclectically saying to himself that there was really no true winner nor true loser in that world conflagration. He becomes an "ardent" fighter for the German republic, weak and besieged by enemies as it was. In those years when types like young Schuck plotted assassinations and putsches, Albert Sulzberger "fought" for this republic by issuing a liberal magazine—attacking foes to the Right as well as to the Left, as he puts it.

Unfortunately, Albert's political philosophy is foggy, to judge by an editorial, printed at the end of the book, in which his generalities are couched in sophomoric prose. Albert realizes that the Left calls him a traitor, the Right a lunatic, the Center a visionary, but he accepts the abuse as a martyrdom. Had the author chosen to depict him as a sincere but befuddled crackpot, he would have been realistic. There were scores of Alberts who, while claiming to fight incipient Fascism, really abetted it by their muddy and unrealistic approach to politics. In this case, however, the author seems to identify himself with Albert, and to applaud his stand.

It is a deplorable alliance because otherwise *The Sorcerers* might have been valuable as a historic document. Artistically, the book is a failure. Some of the male characters are well-portrayed, but the women drift like shadows through the pages. There is much editorializing—the people talk in page-long paragraphs. Children of sixteen speak like adults, dainty women like brawny men. This carelessness is surprising in an author who otherwise writes in the offensively naturalistic style of the 1900's.

But, in an indirect way, one can learn a great deal from this novel. It reveals the weakness of German liberals, without the author so intending. What he considers Albert's strength is in fact, political infantilism. Kieve cheers his hero when he dismisses socialism as basically the same thing as capitalism, or when he attacks trade unions as "states within the state," endangering the whole country: "In a democracy there can be only one allegiance and that must be the wholehearted allegiance to democracy." Or when he naïvely asserts: "There is no room left for class struggle in a society in which all classes enjoy the same privileges." Did not the Hitlerites make similar statements, though, unlike the honest Albert, they did so with something other than democracy in mind?

There are laws of personality that a story teller must not violate. An anti-Semitic Jew with a split personality cannot plausibly emerge as a staunch fighter for a democratic republic. The Junker Schuck, on the other hand, is a real person, with his brutality bequeathed unmitigated to his son. It is not surprising that Schuck's swastika triumphs over Sulzberger's editorials. Perhaps the title should have been, not *The Sorcerers*, but *The Bewitched*. For the Germans, especially the anti-Republicans, seem to have suffered from history's worst mass neurosis, to judge by their convulsive Götterdämmerung.

ALFRED WERNER

EXTRINSIC & INTRINSIC

THEORY OF LITERATURE, by René Wellek and Austin Warren (Harcourt, Brace and Company; $4.50).

IN THE LAST DECADE the New Criticism has established itself in our universities and our literary magazines. Perhaps it is true that never before has the *idea* of literary criticism been taken so seriously, or gathered around it such an imposing apparatus of scholarship and academic dignity. The obvious merit of Wellek and Warren's book is that it sums up the principles and aims of this group of estheticians. To my mind it also suggests everything that is wrong with their views.

In favor of *Theory of Literature*, it should be said that it is intelligent, learned and essentially mature in its statements, even though you may find yourself tripping over such terms as *Wortkunst and slovesnost*, or tracing the *sujet* of *Light in August*. But the present book is not marked either by the reversionary prejudices of the Southern "agrarians" or by the irresponsible cleverness of the *Partisan Reviewers*. It stems mainly from Norman Foerster and Joseph Warren Beach in this country and, through the influence of René Wellek, a professor of comparative literature at Yale, it is rather heavily influenced, by the middle-European and particularly the Russian formalists.

The first half of the text is more or less concerned with what is called the "extrinsic approach" to the study of literature. The second half deals with the "intrinsic study of literature" and some general conclusions about teaching literature in graduate schools. Moreover, the book makes a sincere effort to appraise the various points of view in modern literary criticism before discarding most of them and stating its own position. The real

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trouble is not in the positive assertions of *Theory of Literature*, which are usually commendable, but in the implicit and sometimes altogether unconscious assumptions.

Messrs. Wellek and Warren decry absolutism in literary evaluation, for instance, and take up a position that they call perspectivism. But they almost succeed in making an absolute, not of literature, nor indeed of literary criticism, but of literary scholarship pure and simple. Poetry, as they say, is surely not a "substitute-philosophy." "Poetry of ideas is like any other poetry, not to be judged by the value of the material but by its degree of integration and artistic intensity." Nor is poetry (or prose, which somehow takes a subordinate role in this discussion) a "substitute-psychology" or a "substitute-sociology." Well, obviously. But by concentrating on all the blunders that can be committed by a stupid literary critic who uses the "extrinsic" materials, they ignore the valuable insights that these areas of knowledge can yield to a wise literary critic. By implication they condemn the interpretation of all historical, social and psychological material in a work of art, instead of stimulating the search for its proper use.

What is left? There is a good chapter on Euphony and Meter; another on Metaphor, Symbol, Myth; another on the modes of narrative fiction, which is pervaded by a faint air of boredom. If we use Wellek and Warren's analytical technique upon their own book, we notice that the prevailing "imagery" of *Theory of Literature*—in this case, the literary sources and references—derives mainly from England and Europe, from the past, from the classics. The references to American books deal chiefly, and somewhat repetitiously, with Henry James, T. S. Eliot, Poe. There is no discussion that I recall of our major literary historians, nor of an actual working literary critic such as Edmund Wilson or F. O. Matthiessen.

This is at best a guidebook to academic perfection, not a source of academic boldness and originality. In saying this I do not wish to deny Warren's own contributions to the technical analysis of literature. But I don't see how any creative impulse—in any area of the arts—can survive in an intellectual atmosphere that has become so rarefied and thin. After this, another Mencken might be a relief, or a necessity. MAXWELL GEISMAR

Maxwell Geismar is the author of Writers in Crisis and The Last of the Provincials.

UNDER THE UMBRELLA

MIRROR FOR MAN: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life, by Clyde Kluckhohn (Whittlesey House; $3.75).

ANTHROPOLOGY is the hot social science just now. Anthropology courses in the colleges are growing in number and size. Books, magazine articles and lectures by anthropologists pop up all over the place.

The principal reason for this is that anthropology is gradually assuming a leading role in the study of human behavior, a study which has begun to offer some real hope that eventually we may be able to mitigate the problems of conflict, including war. As we realize more and more that human nature is indivisible and that the attempt to jam it into compartments is unrealistic and unsuccessful, there is a tendency for sociology, psychology, social psychology and even psychiatry to come together under the anthropological umbrella. The joint activities of these groups are increasingly centered upon problems of adult aggressive behavior that look like the prolongation of infantile attitudes. Many students of human behavior believe it now possible to bring up children in such a way that these aggressions will no longer prevail into manhood. If this were ever accomplished, we should be spared the statesmen and other "leaders" who hastily resort to force to settle disputes with other nations, or are prepared to go to almost any lengths to spread their particular doctrines throughout the world.

The contribution of the anthropologists is based upon field studies among various cultures. They are able to point out that your own cherished system of morality is exclusively a matter of the cultural environment—New York City, the Trobriand Islands or Hollywood—in which you were reared; that it is therefore useless to scold Vishinsky for not behaving like a graduate of Eton, or of the Kansas City Rotary. If we are willing to take the trouble really to study Vishinsky, the background from which he comes, the ethical concepts by which he is guided, we shall at least avoid the wasted effort of shouting at a deaf man—deaf, that is, for all practical purposes of international relations. (It is equally imperative, of course, that Vishinsky should try to understand us.)

The Second World War was the anthropologists' happy hunting ground. For the first time in American history, so far as I know, they were called in by the government to advise the US armed forces on a whole series of important questions regarding the mental characteristic of enemy populations as well as our own people. Dr. Kluckhohn recites some of the instances where their advice was found useful.

The US Army, for example, was so impressed with the suicidal nature of the Japanese attack that it assumed a captured Japanese soldier would refuse any and all information of value to our troops. On the contrary, said the anthropologists; the captured Japanese considers himself an outcast from his own society, a man without a country, and is therefore perfectly willing to join the country of the enemy, as it were, by aiding him. So it proved. Some captured Japanese soldiers immediately tried to enlist in our forces and were hurt and bewildered when rejected. Men who had been prisoners only twenty-four hours flew in our planes and pointed out in detail concealed Japanese installations.

But these successes of the anthropologists were at a fairly primitive level. Really important decisions about what to do with Japan and Germany, for instance, were being made and still

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are made, by generals and statesmen profoundly ignorant of the nature of the former enemy and his culture, men who are themselves walking bundles of deeply rooted prejudices, including that most naïve of all theories, that there is only one real moral standard in the world, your own, and that anyone who fails to see eye to eye with you is a delinquent.

Mirror for Man, which won a $10,000 Whittlesey House-Science Illustrated contest for scientific books for the layman, is a clear and simple popular account of what the anthropologists are trying to do and what they have learned in recent decades. Its author, professor of anthropology at Harvard, is an expert on the Navajos and has written several books about them. He says the right things about the myth of racial superiority, about anxieties and aggressions, and the complete malleability of human nature. While his book breaks no new ground, and is not intended to do so, it can be warmly recommended to the reader who wants to know what the anthropologists are up to, and to everyone interested in the important question whether we can neutralize the human impulses leading toward war—as well as all its other causes—before war neutralizes us. BRUCE BLIVEN

FICTION PARADE

POINT OF NO RETURN, by John P. Marquand (Little, Brown; $3.50).
WATCH THE NORTHWIND RISE, by Robert Graves (Creative Age; $3).

POINT OF NO RETURN marks the spot to which John P. Marquand monotonously reverts. There we find Charles Gray, the familiar hero (with "that repressed quality"), at a critical period of his life. A moderately successful suburbanite, living with his wife and two children in what "had been a thirty-thousand-dollar house before the war, not counting extras," he anticipates a possible promotion to vice-president in his bank. Under the stress of the crisis, he indulges in a retrospective inquiry into his personal values. Charles (and the book) belongs to the "sometimes-you-wonder-what-it's-all-about" school of reflection that can afford the luxury of an occasional Doubt only because the inevitable conclusion is retrenchment in a complacency willing to be mistaken for courage.

For well over 300 pages, Charles muses on his early life in a small town near Boston. While the hero dreams the reader can sleep; his reverie is loaded with detail that might prove invaluable to the future historian, but for the contemporary novel reader its familiarity will obscure its possible significance. All of it, from Charles's father—charming eccentric, amateur scholar, failure in business—to the Federalist architecture and fine-drawn social distinctions, need only be named to be recognized. But it is not simply that the matter of the book is banal and the prose appropriate to the matter.

The novel is compromised because Marquand never presents his subject; more precisely, he avoids focusing his subject by formulating attitudes toward it. One has the uncomfortable impression that the reader is supposed to *assume* them—that is, make good the author's omission. No one at this date (unless it is the people who write advertising copy for Little, Brown) believes that Marquand is a satirist. There are a number of strictures expressed, several caustic remarks dropped by the way, but they are of the sort only permitted "members of the family," and in no case do they commit the book to a critical intention.

Marquand strains for significance by another device: a visiting anthropologist analyzes Charles's home town in his professional terms. For example, we are asked to observe in "the regular visits of citizens to the Dock Street Bank a ritual, similar to a primitive temple offering." But the author soon recognizes the silliness of this and ridicules the anthropologist for "the unskilled ignorance of most dwellers in academic ivory towers . . . shielded from many ordinary drives of living." The character pays for the author's uncertainty; Marquand's right hand rebukes his left. Amends are thus made: "You could pull [the town] apart and classify it, as these preposterous strangers would try to do, but all of it fitted together and it fitted beautifully and there was no reason to disturb it." Then there's no reason to disturb the reader about it. We suspect that this compassionate understanding is only a compound of indifference, incomprehension and fear.

The motive of this book, then, is not satire certainly, and not criticism, but misgivings. It is, in fact, to *forestall* criticism that it pays the tribute of an easy pessimism. Easy, except that it effectively destroys the novel. Grimly determined that Charles win the vice-presidency of his bank, his wife says, "It is all we have. Maybe it isn't much, but then maybe we aren't much. . . ." There are no maybes about it.

Edward Venn-Thomas, a poet from our "Late Christian era," is summoned by magic into the future to New Crete. He finds a model state that has deliberately returned, after the threatened annihilation of the race, to a pre-Trojan way of life. A sage of the island tells the visitor: "We have lived what your age, in idealistic prospect, called 'the good life,' and that is a very easy life indeed. I don't mean that we haven't worked hard and played hard, kept in good physical and spiritual health, fought our one-day wars with enthusiasm, and gone for occasional adventures in the Bad Lands. But somehow that's not enough."

The trouble with this Utopia is that "ordinary goodness grows stagnant and customary and the [presiding deity of New Crete] proves her love by destroying custom—by introducing evil." That, Venn-Thomas learns, is his function in the future.

The appreciation of *Watch the Northwind Rise* will depend on the reader's enthusiasm for Utopian fantasy, but of its kind it is excellent—sustained, witty, urbane. In creating imaginary worlds, a writer's ingenuity usually burdens his book with the mere machinery of novelty, but here the detail is admirably subordinated to the narrative. JOHN FARRELLY

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THEATRE: Good Show

IN SIDNEY KINGSLEY'S "Detective Story" a boy who has stolen $400 in a desperate effort to win a girl he has been in love with for years switches his affections to the girl's younger sister in less than an hour. And a woman who has loved her husband for four years decides in less than fifteen minutes that he is a sadist unworthy of her love.

Ordinarily such plot manipulation would be enough to make us condemn a play as mechanical and false. They hardly matter in "Detective Story," because its entertainment value derives from factors that are barely related either to the play's theme or story. The story is of a detective with a draconian code of justice bent on jailing an abortionist who had performed an illegal operation on the woman who later became the detective's wife. The theme Kingsley has in mind is the superiority of our legal system, which offers even the guilty every opportunity to prove their innocence, over the type of summary justice that fanatics demand.

The theme is valid, but the story of Detective McLeod is fairly pointless as a demonstration of it. We are told in the play's final half-hour that McLeod, who appears to be very much the exception among the men of his squad, is almost psychopathic in his hatred of criminals, and that he got that way because he believes his criminal father drove his mother insane. When he himself is accused by his wife of being as viciously cruel as his father before him, he experiences a change of heart. But, aside from the psychological arbitrariness with which the characters are maneuvered, nothing in the events of the play prove that McLeod's point of view is necessarily wrong. One does not have to be tainted in any way to believe in fierce justice. To prove McLeod wrong he would himself have to be placed in jeopardy as a criminal, so he might learn that despite some misstep of his own there were extenuating circumstances which only the slow processes of the law, processes he had considered evasions of justice, could uncover.

What makes "Detective Story" enjoyable is its detail. Most of us are unacquainted with detective bureaus, and to see such a place in all its particulars is fascinating. The play is the kind of hot journalism—following "The Front Page" tradition—in which the American stage excels. From the Irish cop who sings "Pagliacci" to the crackbrained woman who demands police protection from imaginary persecutors, the people who whirl through Kingsley's detective squad room have an ugly raciness that, seen with the amoral eye of the curious bystander, lends them a certain comic crackle.

When the first-act curtain fell, I found myself elated by having witnessed a menagerie of the city's wild life in swift-moving panorama. (A large-cast play is expensive for the producer, but fun for the spectator.) This first act, apparently formless as far as the show's "serious" side goes, is actually the best, since it is the incidental in "Detective Story" that is the essential. The play deteriorates in its story, and might be said to descend to its climax. But Kingsley manages his material so well, and his reservoir of humorous notation is so plentiful, that our sense of a good show is never wholly lost. The bad moments—which are related to the central figure's personal problem—serve as convenient resting places.

The excellent cast Kingsley as director has chosen for "Detective Story" clinches the evening's pleasure. The most striking of the play's numerous types—that of an inveterate criminal—is brilliantly played by Joseph Wiseman. There is a kind of hysterical histrionics in Wiseman's characterization, a furiously vivid expressiveness mounting from cringing cowardice to a violent masochistic delight that is both savagely funny and startlingly original. Extremely amusing too, with a touch of both injured and aggressive naïveté, is Lee Grant's shoplifter. Michael Strong as another burglar has a soft, moronic shrewdness that is as insidious as Wiseman's fever is frightening. Lou Gilbert, as a reporter, has an unspectacular sweetness and purity that fortunately diminish the portentousness his lines as the thematic spokesman might otherwise have. There are many other good bits—those of Maureen Stapleton, Jean Adair, Garney Wilson among the best.

The structurally more dominant parts are the least grateful. Ralph Bellamy is convincing in the conduct of his work as Detective McLeod. He suggests real inner disarray in the scenes where he is called upon silently to convey the torment of self-doubt. He falters with his author where his problem in relation to his wife has to be faced head-on.

Boris Aronson has succeeded in

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making the drab unpicturesqueness of a police station, a realistic facsimile of which would become visually burdensome, seem varied, theatric and almost glamorous. Sidney Kingsley, it must be evident from what I have already said, has done a fine job of staging. HAROLD CLURMAN

DANCE: New Books

WITHIN THE PAST MONTH, four important books have been added to the limited, and generally unsatisfactory, literature about the dance. A delightful little volume by Kay Ambrose, *The Ballet-Lover's Companion* (Knopf; $1.95), is described, with a sobersidedness its contents do not bear out, as "a guide to practical aesthetics." *The Dance Encyclopedia,* by Anatole Chujoy (Barnes; $7.50), is the first American attempt to compile a one-volume collection of facts, definitions, biographies and descriptions of works. George Amberg's *Ballet in America* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $5) is a historical survey and an evaluation of the successive events, movements and personalities in the developing story of native ballet. Margaret Lloyd's *The Borzoi Book of Modern Dance* (Knopf; $5) undertakes to provide a similar panorama of the evolution of non-ballet dancing in the United States from Isadora Duncan to Valerie Bettis.

Miss Ambrose tries to show ballet enthusiasts, in terms at once specific and theoretical, what to look for when they watch dancing. Because she can draw as well as she can write, she achieves rare clarity and immediacy. Her temperament is hard-boiled but likable; she can put a pretentious performer in his place with acid wit ("The perpetual view of the underneath of dancers' chins is largely due to a mistaken sense of style; to stick one's nose in the air is to confuse the dreary superiority of the department-store manager with the brilliant authority of the ballerina"). In a deft drawing or two she can caricature with deadly accuracy the bodily distortions and anxious facial expressions of a ballerina who is not sure of herself. In parallel drawings, accompanied by explanatory prose, she shows unmistakably the differences between the right and the wrong, or the beautiful and the ugly, way of accomplishing the feats generally required of ballet dancers. By the time you have finished Miss Ambrose's tightly packed 80-page book, you have acquired, as if by osmosis, an extraordinary feeling for the qualities of execution and expression that make dancing first-rate. If a better book for the layman has ever been published, I have not seen it.

Chujoy's encyclopedia is not merely the only compendium of its kind in English; it is uniformly reliable in its important facts, and it covers the standard areas of the dance with exemplary thoroughness. If some of the contemporary ballerinas refuse to reveal the year in which they were born, or lie about it, Chujoy cannot be held responsible; and, anyway, a dancer is as young as she looks. The important fact is that you are likely to find an intelligent entry bearing upon almost any normal interest, ancient or modern.

For a truly disinterested compendium, to be sure, it devotes proportionately too much space to names and data in the field of ballet (especially Russian ballet) and too little to some other areas, notably the Negro dance in America, which is distressingly slighted. In compensation for such lapses, it offers a number of extended articles by recognized authorities—on choreography, by George Balanchine; on dance criticism, by Edwin Denby, the most penetrating of American dance critics; on design for theatrical dance, by George Amberg; on various aspects of the modern dance, by Walter Terry. The level here is uneven, and some of the other featured authors seem curious choices, but the best of the articles are admirable.

In recounting the history of ballet in America, Amberg, who has lived in this country only a decade, suffers from the disadvantage of not having grown up in the midst of the art he describes. As a consequence, his book gains a personal vividness in its later chapters which mere research could not give the earlier parts. Nevertheless, his story is an interesting one, and he tells it well, enabling us to see the stages by which American ballet dancing and choreography took on characteristic aspects of style, subject matter and motor enthusiasm which by now have made it quite a different world of values and experience from its European counterparts. The accompanying photographs are superb, and do honor to the author's determination not to reprint the hackneyed pictures we have seen again and again. Like the Chujoy encyclopedia, Amberg's history is a valuable and useful volume, not because everything in it is presented in ideal perspective, but because, despite its vagaries of judgment, it brings together materials of incontestable service to the dance public.

Miss Lloyd's treatment of the modern dance is somewhat less palatable, and considerably less dependable. Though she writes with breezy feminine detachment and informality, calling all her subjects by their first names even when it is apparent that she does not know them very well, she is unfortunately a proponent of the cult jargon and the over-assessments of merit that disfigure most discussions of the modern dance. By praising mediocrity, she prejudices the reader's faith in her right to deal with the very aspects of dance—such as the contributions of Doris Humphrey or Ted Shawn—about which she is equipped to speak authoritatively. This is a good book to read if you remember to distrust the author's opinions, and if you are willing to skip the recurrent lengthy and metaphysical descriptions of a host of minor works that are long since dead. The photographs, again, are excellent. CECIL SMITH

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MOVIES: Synchronize Your Watches

THE REAL TROUBLE with "Portrait of Jennie" is that all the people concerned in it—including Robert Nathan, who wrote the novel in the first place—pretend that they have come up with something both original and of shattering significance. If they had been slightly more modest about their theme, if above all they had presented it with a trace of humor, it could have been an ingratiating, though rather familiar, exercise in philosophical spoofing. The portentous dialogue, the apocalyptic cloud masses, the disemboweled violins (music courtesy of Debussy) make it as brashly irritating as a bright young boy dazzling the world with his first paradox.

The story, as you probably know, is of a starving artist and a little girl who meet at intervals over a period of months and who are seen to be living in two different time patterns. The little girl, in fact, has died years before (or is it years after?) they first meet and is now proceeding on an accelerated schedule designed to bring her neck and neck again with her destined lover. It's something like lapping the field in a six-day bike race.

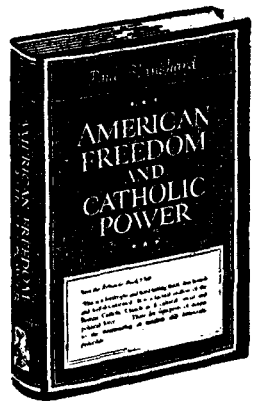
The principals (Jennifer Jones and Joseph Cotten) languish through this dilemma; they spend a good part of their brief interviews frowning over the enigmatic logic of the cosmos, while Ethel Barrymore, hovering in the background, worries whether her protégé is going off his rocker. "How do we know that our yesterday isn't somebody else's tomorrow?" A question you couldn't answer without getting into water too deep for Nathan's sentimental metaphysicians.

New York is a much better film background than you would suspect from the solemn photography in this picture, and the famous New England hurricane, during which the couple's timemobiles finally pass each other, looks like a storm in a washing machine. The portrait itself was painted by Robert Brackman, not by a new Leonardo, as the film's critics, Miss Barrymore and Cecil Kellaway, would have you think.

In a brief introductory chat with the audience, W. Somerset Maugham, author of "Quartet," recalls the various adjectives critics have applied to his work from decade to decade. The adjectives have not improved with the passing years, the more recent ones being cynical, superficial and competent. Maugham chooses to think this funny, and, since it is his career, he may laugh if he likes. The joke is a little obscure, though, when you consider how he started to write, how much he subsequently wrote and the kind of fame it has won him.

"Quartet" is a filming of four short stories the author puts forward as his favorites. They are quite unconnected, with separate casts and different directors, and the items in the package have little in common except that they are all small tricks. In the final episode, a fair sample, an eminent and grotesquely philistine colonel is nonplussed by the discovery that his mousy wife is the author of a volume of verse that has caused a critical and popular sensation. He is more than nonplussed when he hears rumors, confirmed in detail by his mistress, that the volume is decidedly racy. It describes minutely and in the first person a passionate affair between an older woman and a young man, now dead. "Who is the fellow?" the unhappy husband demands in a rousing climax. "Why, you, my dear," she replies. It seems the book records the fleeting happiness of their early years together and that she has remembered him as young and ardent while seeing herself as she now is. And the death of her lover? Ah, well . . .

About all you can do in such circumstances is fall back on the old remark that tales like the foregoing will be enjoyed by people who enjoy tales like the foregoing. Maugham



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American Freedom AND Catholic Power

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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states that all his material is drawn from life; if so, he has been cunning at converting it to cardboard.

One yarn, about a kite flier, has some vitality to it. At least you can recognize that it deals with obsessive mother love, and compulsive kite flying is a tenable eccentricity. It is the only story, by the way, that deals with anything but the toniest people. The other three seem to me little shams rigged up to make us feel more intelligent, more compassionate, more sensitive than the preposterous animations who inhabit them. At the same time, we are permitted a little snobbish elbow rubbing in the right society.

J. Arthur Rank, impressed by the gracious condescension of the great man, has cast Maugham's stories admirably and his four directors, Ken Annakin, Arthur Crabtree, Harold French and Ralph Smart, have done their work with skill. The English gift for broad character acting stands up admirably. George Cole, as the kite enthusiast, is particularly good; he hits perfectly that hair line between whimsical deviation from normal behavior and outright lunacy. Cecil Parker, in the final episode, wrings as much humor from the Colonel Blimp role as can be got from that tired caricature.

A man sitting next to me in the theatre announced at the end of each episode, "That's a cute story." It is not a remark that grows more attractive by repetition, but it did not become less appropriate.

"Bad Boy," the third film in a very few weeks to deal with the subject of juvenile delinquency, breaks to pieces on superficial sentiment and an outrageous plot falsification. The young criminal of the story is driven to war on society by the belief that he has killed his mother and is thus beyond salvation. New evidence, produced at the eleventh hour, proves that she died of natural causes—presto, a reformation. This is cheating; this is saying, "Wake up, it was just a bad dream."

So "Bad Boy" can be dismissed as a pious and implausible tribute to the work done by Variety Clubs International at its Texas ranch for youthful offenders. Lloyd Nolan is stiffly embarrassed as the "coach" of this institution and James Gleason peddles his winsome toughness as the "chief."

Something should be said, however, for the performance of Audie Murphy in the title role. Murphy, as is generally known, was the last war's most decorated soldier (he looks a youthful 18) and is the author of *To Hell and Back*. Some of the movie critics have patronized him, observing that you can't expect a hero to be an actor as well. I hope he is an actor, and a good one, for if he is not he is an extremely dangerous citizen. Murphy conveys the dead and deadly blandness of a boy who has tried to make himself invulnerable. He shows a specious charm, and an alert plausibility that go far beyond toughness. He is maddening and sickening, and he is worst when he is being most helpful. The faults in his performance are faults of the script; I look forward to seeing him in a better picture.

By a misunderstanding over the release date, the Polish melodrama of Auschwitz, "The Last Stop," was reviewed here in the issue of January 24, almost two months before it opened. The error was the more unfortunate since the picture is of unusual interest both dramatically and politically.

Other critics of "The Last Stop" have declared themselves aghast at its portrayal of concentration-camp fiendishness, but I am inclined to think that they are moved by a kind of wishful horror. It was what they know, perhaps, not what they saw, that moved them. The impact of the picture was softened and made bearable, I thought, by the imposition of a dramatic structure upon the documentary background (the film was made in Auschwitz). The essence of the Nazi extermination policy is that it provides no conflict; the toad does not struggle against the boot that crushes it. But the makers of "The Last Stop" were under a political obligation to record the power of proletarian resistance; they introduced a plot and a Joan of Arc heroine and the phenomenon of audience identification inevitably protects us. A million bodies a year were disposed of in the ovens you can see smoking in the background, but nevertheless there is solace in this film because the people you are made to care about for the most part escape. Incredibly enough, the history of Auschwitz fades out on a happy ending.

It will be objected that "The Last Stop" is based on facts, that cells of resistance did exist in the concentration camps. The answer, I think, is that by focusing on such a group the Polish film makers have left us with the wrong memory. The lesson of Auschwitz is not that some human spirits are invincible; that has been proved again and again. The unique lesson of the concentration camp is that men finally produced there an environment for which there was no human reference at all. We are henceforth burdened with the knowledge that it can be done.

ROBERT HATCH

ON THE AIR: Midwest Model

CLEVELAND, OHIO

BROADCASTING STATISTICS out here are impressive. Cleveland is well provided with large stations, organized listener activity, press attention, a tradition of firm criticism, and official interest from the city's educators. But there are also figures on what the city gets, or listens to, on the air.

The most popular local program is probably "Here's Howie," broadcast over a new, non-network station, WJMO. One tabulation made by the Board of Education, with the help of the Radio Council of Greater Cleveland, showed "Howie" to be the favorite of 16,709 boys and girls in the city's senior high schools. That the young set was not alone in its regard for "Howie" is shown by the last

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annual poll conducted by Stanley Anderson, radio editor of the Cleveland *Press*. His readers placed the show among the three "best"; listed the maestro, Howie Lund, in second place among "best performers." The "Howie" program is characterized in the Board of Education summary as "disc-jockey-patter."

In fairness to both stations and listeners, it must be pointed out that Anderson's listings included among the "best" programs two others of which the originating stations are proud. One is a forum, "City Club," which goes over WGAR. The other is "Ohio Story," a dramatic documentary done by top talent over WTAM, the local station owned and operated by the NBC network. Both of them are well regarded by local critics.

Of the six stations on the "standard" waves here, four duplicate many of their programs on FM transmitters. In addition, there are five stations that broadcast on the FM bands only, and two television outlets are on the air. A third television station is under construction, and one more entrant is about ready to open in the FM-only classification. This last is owned by the UAW-CIO.

All four of the coast-to-coast networks are represented in Cleveland, and all the big network programs have wide listening. This includes not only the highly popular comedy sessions but also the drama shows ranging from soap opera to CBS's "Lux Radio Theatre" and ABC's "Theatre Guild on the Air" or NBC's "Cavalcade of America." But there is little real enthusiasm for anything of local origin.

The most exciting broadcasting job being done here—a model for the country—is subject to restrictions. The Board of Education has its own station, WBOE, on the FM band. WBOE is a specific adjunct of the school system and it doesn't care about ordinary radio practice. Programs are timed according to school schedules, instead of being chopped into the usual 15-minute portions. The station aims directly at the classroom and the subjects range from handicrafts and arithmetic to geography and social studies. A program may open at an odd hour like 8:37 a.m., which gives a "home room" teacher just enough time to seat the class and conduct roll call; it may run for ten minutes, stop dead for three minutes while the class performs some exercise just prescribed by the teacher at the microphone, then close with a two-minute review and assignment of next day's lesson.

The writing for WBOE is done by professionals—it employs eleven script people on full time, and has the additional assistance of seven teachers who spend much of their time writing for radio. There aren't that many script writers on all twelve commercial stations in the city.

WBOE's chief limitation is its budget. It is on the air only from eight in the morning until five in the afternoon, and goes dead during school holidays and vacations.

All three of Cleveland's large daily newspapers have full-time radio editors. The late Robert S. Stephan of the *Plain Dealer* was not only one of the first radio critics in America but one of the best. He helped establish the Radio Council here, and it is what a listeners' organization ought to be.

The day I attended a Council meeting there were present delegates from 167 women's organizations in the metropolitan area. The women run their own radio-evaluation activities without any hand from commercial broadcasting. Their influence on broadcasting, however, is not at all commensurate with the place they hold in the community. The principal reason, I suspect, is that the broadcast pattern is fixed largely by the networks, which are beyond the influence of any group not national in character.

American radio will not progress far beyond its present state until there are many more listeners' councils like Cleveland's, organized on a national basis and capable of standing up to the national networks. SAUL CARSON

"NOTHING BETTER"

writes Hubert Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota . . . "as a short, easily grasped explanation of what the liberals will try to accomplish in 1949."

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CORRESPONDENCE

Real Problem

SIR: We are now devising means of projecting ourselves to the moon, building space platforms, fencing our country with radar and establishing a 5,000-mile testing strip for something else looking forward to war. . . . Maybe first we ought to try our hand at solving the problem of producing a $4,000 house.

Evanston, Ill. EDWIN F. ANDERSON

Cheers for Cowley

SIR: *Re* Malcolm Cowley on "Dos Passos and His Critics" (the *NR,* February 18): at last a critic has given us a thoroughly objective evaluation of Dos Passos' latest, most controversial novel—sans political bias, sans literary prejudice! Three cheers for Cowley and *New Republic.*

Buckhannon, W. Va. R. H. WOODFORD

Protest on Greece

SIR: Alexander Kendrick, in a report from Athens published in the *New Republic* of March 7, expresses the opinion that only by changing the conditions that caused the present strife in Greece can the Greeks end the rebellion. . . .

Mr. Kendrick says that the solution for Greece would "first of all entail the restoration of civil liberties even in military zones. Then would have to come the restoration of the free trade unions. . . . The political parties which are now considered illegal because they boycotted the 1946 elections, would similarly have to be restored."

Finally, Mr. Kendrick asks for economic and financial reforms while he expresses the opinion that "state enterprise will be necessary to increase Greek industrialization if private capital won't do it. . . . There must be modification of the decentralization law and bona-fide elections to implement it. A date must also be set for general elections . . . and an amnesty proclaimed for those who have not committed criminal acts," he adds. . . .

I think it helps to remind your readers that an extensive investigation was made by an eleven-member United Nations committee which had visited Greece and its neighboring countries. The overwhelming majority of that committee stated that the major reason for the present strife is not because of internal conditions but primarily because of the aid given to the Greek rebels by the Communist northern neighbors of Greece. Nevertheless, even if one would accept the false theory that Communism grows from poverty and other shortcomings of any given country, it does not seem to me that the treatment of the illness suggested by your correspondent is the only adequate and useful one. . . .

For instance: Up to three months ago civil freedoms were in full force in the Peloponnesus (southern Greece) area. The result was that the Communists used them to undermine the freedom of that area. After the Peloponnesus was proclaimed a military zone, the rebels were captured or annihilated. The people are now free again and they are actually enjoying civil liberties.

My second remark is that Mr. Kendrick has missed the fact that the Greek Trade Unions have been reorganized upon a free syndicalistic basis by an American Labor Mission. . . .

Another remark is that except for the Greek Communist Party, which is illegal—not because it abstained from the 1946 elections but because it officially proclaimed itself the pioneer of the rebellion—no other party is illegal in Greece.

Now, as far as the economic and financial reforms are concerned, it seems to me that Mr. Kendrick has missed another fact. This is that, apart from other measures, a special levy on the wealthy classes has been established recently. Also, in comparison with $280 million of American economic and military aid to Greece, the Greek people paid, during the last year, $400 million, which came out mainly from direct taxation of the wealthy classes.

Finally, the decentralization law is already modified and elections to implement it are under discussion. . . .

As far as the question of amnesty is concerned, Mr. Kendrick forgot to mention that general amnesty was given three times by several governments. Yet the Communist chieftains used it to have their followers leave the jails for the mountains, instead of for their jobs. And now, everyone who willingly surrenders his arms is given a full amnesty; a fact Mr. Kendrick also forgot to mention. . . .

ANTHONY A. ANTONAKAKIS,
Greek Government
New York City Office of Information

SIR: Mr. Antonakakis quarrels with my conclusions apparently without having read the statements leading to them. I don't wish to polemicize about true or false theories, but on the factual issues I can answer the following:

1. Not Mr. Antonakakis but one of the thousands arrested in the Peloponnesus should be the judge as to whether civil liberties do or can exist under the rule of armed rightist bands such as "X."

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2. Because trade-union officials appointed by Metaxas have been accepted by the United States Mission does not make the unions free.

3. Whether officially outlawed or not, the political parties mentioned are treated as illegal and do not function, which is all I said.

4. The taxation and decentralization issues were adequately covered in my article.

Mr. Antonakakis should inform his government that it has granted amnesty —it doesn't seem to know about it.

Tel Aviv, Israel ALEXANDER KENDRICK

Conscientious Objector

SIR: The $300 million federal aid to education bill leaves it up to Congress to decide whether some of the money is to be spent in parochial schools.

I won't be taxed to support anybody's church school. I thought Henry A. Wallace erred when he said clericalism threatens America. His judgment is vindicated.

New York City R. L. SNOVER

Unfair to Bees

SIR: This is a comment on Angus McDonald's article, "Farm Prices Hold the Key" (the *NR*, March 14), by a beekeeper, one who belongs to the forgotten people of agriculture, the specialty-crop producers.

Agriculture does not consist entirely of basic crops; more than 50 percent of agriculture has no program, no floor except that which wheat found in 1930. . . . Beekeepers are directing the attention of Congress to their marketing problem by introducing legislation to support the price of honey at 90 percent of parity. The present price of honey is seven cents per pound to the California producer, less than 50 percent of parity. . . .

The success of the soil-conservation program is jeopardized by delay in supporting the price of honey: bees are required to produce legume seed, especially sweet clover, at present in short supply and vital to soil fertility. Further disastrous decreases will follow if the beekeepers of the United States are not offered a better deal than the right to pollinate price-supported crops while they themselves go bankrupt.

Sacramento, Calif. LAURA SHEPHARD

A Correction

A book review, "Faith in Newman," in the March 28 issue, described John Henry Newman as being in his youth an "American priest." This was a typographical error; the word intended was "Anglican."

BANDWAGON

Damned Decent of Them

While the utilities are reluctant to discuss this part of the program, it is understood that they will "save" about $25,000,000 a year because this additional supply will obviate the need for constructing new gas manufacturing facilities. It does not mean that customers will get reduced rates, but it is expected that their bills will not be increased. – *From the New York* Times.

Matter of Taste

"There was no race discrimination connected with the affair; the O.K. Cafe just doesn't serve colored people," Dunwiddie said. – *From the Great Falls (Mont.)* Tribune.

Their Own Business

Gamblers who are out of work probably can collect unemployment insurance in Indiana. But prostitutes cannot.

The distinction is that prostitutes are classified as independent contractors, says Lyman K. Bilts, manager of the Indiana Unemployment Compensation Bureau here. – *AP dispatch from Gary.*

Counsel of Despair

Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and another A. I. F. founder, invited Dmitri Shostakovitch, Russian composer who is a delegate to the Waldorf conference, to follow the example of Mrs. Kasenkina. The latter jumped from a window of the Soviet consulate here last August and has refused to have anything to do with the Russians since then. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

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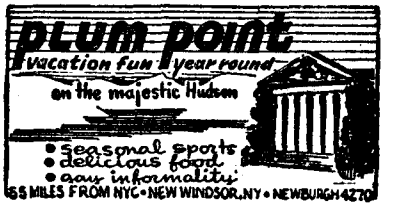
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How Monopoly Business Is Undermining Our Way of Life

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